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A Sumerian Theogony and Cosmogony

By
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The Creation-Story of Genesis I.

A

Sumerian Theogony and Cosmogony

By

DR. HUGO RADAU

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BY THE AUTHOR

PREFACE.

THE Right Rev. D S. Tuttle, Bishop of Missouri, in delivering a sermon before a body of theological students on "How to make the people contribute liberally towards the support of the Church," remarked: "You must milk the cows! The more and the oftener you milk them, the more milk they will give." Although somewhat vulgar, yet the simile fits the case exactly. The same is true of the study of the Bible. The more we study it, the more we draw from it, the more it will yield: milk of life,—both for the soul and the brain! The same idea was also expressed by Dr. Martin Luther who compared the Bible to a beautiful and fruitful tree. The more and the oftener we pluck its fruit, the more it will give us.

But not everybody knows "how to milk," nor does everybody know "how to pluck the fruits." If done carelessly and thoughtlessly, the "milking" as well as the "plucking of the fruit" may become dangerous,—we may fall from the tree! If there are some who thus fell from the tree while trying to pluck its fruit, who will dare to say that it was the tree's fault that "the plucker" fell down? Was it not, on the contrary, the plucker's own carelessness, his own fault?

Exactly so it is with the "*Higher Criticism*." Higher criticism, if thoughtlessly and carelessly applied to the Bible, will and must be hurtful: not for the Bible, however,—for it will remain undaunted,—but for him who aspires to be a "higher critic." And how many there are who want to be what they cannot be: higher critics! A true higher critic's aim is *not* to *destroy* the Bible, but to UNDERSTAND it,—understand it *historically*. Thus he will apply the higher critical methods as given by "*history*." *In history the divine will is carried out* The Bible when thus "read in the light of history" will yield fruits of which nobody ever dreamed,—fruits ripened in ages past and saved for our present times to gather.

Indeed, the Bible is a wonderful tree with manifold fruits: tiny shoots have been engrafted on it from time to time by different gardeners,—shoots taken from other trees raised on foreign soil. These gardeners belonged to a people that was not surrounded by a "Chinese Wall," nor were they blind, deaf, or dumb. They had eyes and saw, ears and heard, mouths and spoke. And what they saw and

heard and spoke they deposited in the Bible. Thus it becomes at once the task of the "higher critic" to trace these little shoots to their original soil and to inquire from whence they were taken and by whom and at what time they were engrafted. And if we find that this or that little shoot was taken from North or South Israelitic soil, from Egyptian, Babylonian, or Persian soil,—does the tree lose thereby its wonderful beauty? Shall we not, on the contrary, admire it all the more? And to have traced with the help of "little clay tablets" one of these tiny shoots to its native soil is the joy of the author.

The greater part of the following pages appeared in *The Monist* for July, 1902 (Vol. XII., pp. 568–625). It was found necessary in order to explain certain "attributes" of the gods to touch shortly upon the Sumerian cosmology. Also the Old Arabian pantheon has been taken in by way of "corroboration." Jensen's *Kosmologie* and Jastrow's *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* were not accessible to the author, and therefore could not be quoted.

It only remains for the author to thank most cordially Dr. Paul Carus and Mr. T. J. McCormack, editors of *The Open Court* and *The Monist*, not only for their many valuable suggestions and corrections when preparing the MS. for the press, but also for the promptness with which it has been printed.

HUGO RADAU.

WATERLOO, ILL., June, 1902.

THE CREATION-STORY OF GENESIS I.

A SUMERIAN THEOGONY AND COSMOGONY.

MYTHS IN THE BIBLE—is a subject which has recently received the greatest attention from Biblical scholars. Professors Gunkel[1] and Zimmern[2] have investigated the subject in its various aspects, and Dr. Paul Carus[3] has discussed it so thoroughly that hardly anything is left which has not been adverted to by them. The following investigation is based upon a direct study of the ancient Babylonian inscriptions, though the results reached by my predecessors and a thorough acquaintance with their method of investigation is presupposed here. For the sake of completeness, however, I may be permitted to recapitulate in a few words the chief data brought out by their investigations, confining myself here to the myth of the first chapter of Genesis.

The original account of Gen. i. must have contained the so-called Jahveh-Tehom myth found in other parts of the Old Testament. This myth represents Jahveh as fighting with a dragon, called either Rahab or Leviathan or serpent. Jahveh overcomes this dragon, divides it and forms out of the two halves "the waters that are above the firmament" and "the waters that are below the firmament." The Biblical dragon has been identified with the

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[1] *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit*. Göttingen, 1895. Also his new *Commentary on Genesis* (the *Introduction* has been published by the Open Court Publishing Co., Chicago).

[2] "Biblische und Babylonische Urgeschichte" in *Der alte Orient*, Vol II, Heft 3. Leipzig, 1901.

[3] "The Fairy-Tale Element in the Bible," in *The Monist* for April and July, 1901.

Babylonian Tiâmat, a monster which was overcome by the god Marduk, the god of light, and which was likewise divided in twain. Further the fight of Marduk with Tiâmat was recognised as the original of the fight of Jahveh with Tehom: a fight of the light against the darkness. The darkness having been overcome by the light, the creation became possible. The following striking similarities were found to exist between the Biblical and Babylonian myths[1]:

According to both traditions there was in the beginning nothing but the chaos under the form of the primeval ocean—it was eternal, not having been created. This ocean, when personified was thought to be a terrible monster. The Babylonian name of that monster was Tiâmat, the Biblical Tehom or Leviathan-Rahab.[2] That in Gen. i. this Tehom was considered a mythical being is still evident from the fact that the word is treated as a "proper name" —it is simply called Tehom and not ha-Tehom. In both myths this Tehom is represented as a dragon or serpent, either with one or several heads, presumably seven as in Revelation, chapters xii. and xiii.

Besides the chief monster there appear in both traditions *others: its helpers*. In the Babylonian creation-story there are opposed to these monsters the "great gods" among whom Marduk takes the first and foremost place. Also in the Biblical account there seem to have been, besides Jahveh, other divine beings, as is still evident from Gen. i. 26: "Let *us* make man." In the Babylonian account it is Marduk who takes up the fight with Tiâmat; in the Biblical account the same rôle is played by Jahveh. Both are armed with a sword. Marduk kills with his sword Tiâmat, Jahveh Rahab-Leviathan-Tehom. The "helpers" of Tiâmat are treated more kindly by Marduk, precisely as is done with the helpers of Rahab by Jahveh. According to both myths the monster is divided—according to the Babylonian account: into the upper waters and into the lower waters. The upper waters are kept back by a kind of

[1] See Zimmern, *l. c.*, p. 15. Gunkel, *Commentary*, p. 85 f. Carus, *The Monist*, April, 1901, p. 428.

[2] ψ lxxxix. 9 ff. ψ lxxiv. 13 ff. Is. li. 9 ff. Job xxvi. 12 ff.; ix. 13 ff.

barrier and by watchmen, who are "not to let out the waters." According to the Biblical account Jahveh divides the Tehom, the primeval ocean, also into two parts, by putting a firmament between them. Thus the Tehom came to be a heavenly and a terrestrial ocean, or as it is said in the Bible, "waters which were above the firmament" and "waters which were below the firmament." Even the watchmen who are to guard the waters of heaven are still preserved in Job vii. 12:

"Am I a sea or sea-monster that thou settest a watch over me?"

By thus dividing the primeval ocean there is created according to both myths the visible heaven. In the Bible as well as in the Babylonian account this fight with the dragon is closely connected with the creation of the world, in such wise that the former precedes the latter. In both accounts we have the following sequence: Tehom—Fight—Division—Heaven!

The above is a *résumé* of what scholars have arrived at in their investigations, and I think their conclusions may be accepted as true. But, far as they have gone, they have by no means as yet exhausted the subject. There are still left certain difficulties in the Biblical as well as in the Babylonian account which are not yet satisfactorily explained. And with these unsolved problems we are concerned here.

Before we consider these problems it would seem necessary to say a few words about the structure of Gen. i.

The first chapter of Genesis is ascribed by all scholars to the Priestly school (commonly abbreviated P.)—and is hence late. The word אלהים (Elohim) is used throughout for "God" and the account is built up according to a certain formula. This formula runs:

"And Elohim said: let there be . . . and there was. . . . And Elohim saw . . . that it was good. And there was evening and there was morning the . . . day."

According to this skeleton the creation of the world is described as having taken place within a space of seven days. This system of seven days is not original, it is not found in the Babylonian account. It was inserted by P. This follows from the fact that on

the third and sixth day two tasks were done, and that on the seventh day, which was intended to be a day of rest, Elohim had to *finish* the work of the sixth day: ויכל אלהים ביום השביעי מלאכתו אשר עשה[1] —and if he *finished* it, he had to *work* on it, it was not at an end, not yet done on the sixth day! But, as we shall shortly see, there is still another reason why the system of seven days cannot have belonged originally to the account of the creation.

Furthermore, I should like to point out here the difficulty which we encounter when trying to translate the word הארץ. It is used in three different senses in the first ten verses. In the expression, את השמים ואת הארץ, it is used to express our idea of "cosmos," for "heaven and earth" is simply the Hebrew term for our word "cosmos." In the expression, והארץ היתה, of v. 2, ארץ stands for the chaotic mass; it is the cosmos as it existed *before* the first day. And v. 10 ארץ is explained by יבשה, "the dry ground"; here therefore it is the same as that which we should understand by "earth." Bearing this in mind, we ought to translate verses 1—3 as follows:

"In the beginning of the Elohim's creating[2] heaven and earth (i. e., the cosmos)—the chaotic mass existed,[3] namely,[4] as a tohu vabohu, and darkness was upon Tehom and the spirit of Elohim מרחפת upon the waters—then Elohim said:" etc.

With this translation, of course, falls also the theory of a *creatio ex nihilo*. Indeed, a creation out of nothing is not implied in the first chapter of Genesis. Not a single word indicates such a theory—not even the word ברא—for we have instead of ברא in verses 25, 26, the verb עשה. It was the chaotic mass coeternal with the Creator out of which everything was created, made, developed, evolutionised. After the primeval ocean has been divided into the waters above and below the firmament, the earth or dry land is made to "appear out of the waters under the firmament": ותראה

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[1] Gen. ii. 2.

[2] Or, "In the beginning when Elohim was about to create."

[3] היתה = "existed," not ויהי or "became."

[4] Sc. at that time, i. e., "in the beginning."

היבשה! Even the birds are developed or take their origin from out of this terrestrial ocean:

ישרצו המים שרץ נפש חיה ועוף

"Let the waters swarm with swarms of living creatures and with birds."[1]

We see then, that one thing takes its origin out of the other, one is the parent of the other; there is, so to speak, a continual giving birth of one thing to another,—a *genealogy*.[2]

Having thus cleared our way, we must now consider the *differences* between the Biblical and the Babylonian account of the creation,—differences that are certainly strange and marked. If it be true that Gen. 1 originally made use of the fight of Jahveh with Tehom, we must be able to account not only for its omission, but also for its differences from the Babylonian Marduk-Tiâmat myth. And just these differences are, for our consideration, of the highest importance!

According to the Babylonian account, the creator Marduk was *himself borne* by Tiâmat,—he therefore was not coeternal with Tiâmat, he was, so to speak, her child! The Creator of Gen. 1, on the other hand, exists from all eternity like Tohom herself! The *first* act of the Babylonian creator is the "division of the Tiâmat," i. e., the creation of "the upper waters" and "the lower waters"! The first act of Elohim of Gen. 1 is the creation of the אור or light.

Now, what is the significance of this אור in Gen. 1? It is

[1] Gen. i. 20.

[2] The writer of Psalm civ 24 ff. was, no doubt, later than P., since for him the eternity of Tehom-Leviathan seemed to have been impossible. Jahveh alone could be eternal,—hence Leviathan had to become a creature, for we read (R. V.):

"O Lord, how manifold are thy works!
In wisdom, thou hast made them all:
The earth is full of thy creatures.
Yonder is the sea, great and wide,
Wherein are things creeping innumerable,
Both small and great beasts.
There go the ships,
There is *Leviathan*, whom thou hast formed
to take his pastime therein!"

The original significance of Leviathan is lost here,—he has become a mere creature of Jahveh! Hence also the succession: creation of the earth with its creatures and the sea with its creatures, among them Leviathan!

neither the sun nor the moon nor any of the stars,—for they were all created later: on the fourth day! And yet it is said in v. 4 that Elohim by thus creating the "light" *divided* the "light from the darkness"; the former he called "day," the latter he called "night." Now this is in direct contradiction to v. 14 and v. 18, where we are expressly told that Elohim created the "two great luminaries," i. e., the sun and the moon, "to rule over the day and over the night and to *divide the light from the darkness*"! According to our daily experience and observation, it is the *sun* which conditions "the light and the darkness" or "the day and the night." If this be true, then it follows that the statement in v. 4 about the "light" of the first day is wrong. And so it is! We saw above that the system of seven days does not originally belong to the creation story. The writer of Gen. 1, however, in order to fabricate his nights and days or simply "days" before the sun was created, *had to add* some such expressions as those found in v. 4: "to divide the light from the darkness." In doing this, he manufactured the first three days,—*the days*, namely, which preceded the creation of the sun on the fourth day. And because it was *added*, it follows that v. 4 and all of v. 5 does not belong to this account. But this consideration does not yet explain the "*light*" itself, created by God on the first day.

In vain have I looked in the various commentaries for an explanation,—the explanations given, if they may be called such, do not explain! Here again the Babylonian account helps us. According to that account Tiâmat brings forth "the great gods," among whom the *god of light*, Marduk, was the chief one, and this latter overcomes Tiâmat and thus creates the heavens. In Gen. 1 the monotheistic idea predominates; the conception of divinity that the writer had, did not suffer the Creater himself to be created,—hence what did the writer do? Well, "the great gods" were eliminated, the creator Marduk was called Elohim (or Jahveh) and was made coeternal with Tiâmat and placed with her at the beginning, —but only the NAME, *the nomen proprium of the creator was removed*, his attribute was kept: the attribute "*light*"! And it was kept because the writer NEEDED it to make out his DAYS! Hence the

"*light*" of Gen. 1, 4, because it is neither the sun nor the moon nor any of the stars, can be only the *attribute of Marduk*, as the god of light and the foremost of all gods. The "*light*," then, must be *another*, and the most important, mythological element taken from the Babylonian account by the writer of Gen. 1. Marduk, the "god of light," is the "*conditio sine qua non*" without which the creation would have been impossible,—the writer thought. The name Marduk had to be given up, but his attribute could be kept and was kept and made the *first work* of Elohim.

From these considerations we get the following sequence:

(*a*) Babylonian:

Tiâmat—"the great gods," and Marduk, the *god of light* —fight—division—heaven.

(*b*) Biblical:

Tehom—light—fight—division—heaven.

In the Babylonian account the *primeval ocean* is a monster of double sex: a masculine and a feminine in one person, a kind of androgyn, for we read:

"E-nu-ma e-lish la na-bu-u sha-ma-mu
shap-lish ma-tum shu-ma la zak-rat
apsû-ma rêsh-tu-u za-ru-shu-un
mu-um-mu ti-amat mu-al-li-da-at gim-ri-shu-un
mê-shu-nu ish-ti-nish i-chi-qu-u-ma."

That is:

"When above | the heavens were not yet named
Below the earth | no name as yet bore
When the *ocean*, the primeval | their *begetter*
Tiâmat, the deep, | the *mother* of them all
Their waters in one | had joined together
Then the great gods were created."

According to this the primeval waters consisted of the *apsû*, the *begetter*, or zârû,[1] and the *Tiâmat*, the *mother* or muallidat. As a result of the "joining their waters in one," i. e., of cohabitation, the gods were created. The primeval ocean, then, was considered to be the *first parent* who brought forth the gods. What does the

[1] From the root זרע "seed"!

Bible say to this? The verse which speaks about the primeval waters consists of three clauses—the first clause gives the description of the primeval waters or chaotic mass and the other two clauses stand in the so-called parallelismus membrorum. It reads (v. 2):

והארץ היתה תהו ובהו
וחשך על־פני תהום
ורוח אלהים מרחפת על־פני המים

That is, "the chaotic mass (or primeval waters, ocean see above!) existed as a tohu-vabohu; it was 'a darkness' upon the *Tehom* as well as a 'spirit of god' that מרחפת upon *the waters.*"

If the Hebrew Tehom is equal to the Babylonian Tiâmat, then "the waters" must be the "apsû." But if "the waters" are the "apsû," then "the spirit of God" must be it too! This follows from the parallelism. Hence "the spirit of God" of Gen. i. plays exactly the same rôle as the apsû of the Babylonians, i. e., he מרחפת the Tehom. The word מרחפת is declared by the newest commentators to mean "to brood over"—but I do not think that that translation exhausts its full meaning; מרחפת means and stands for the same "idea" expressed by the Greek ἐπισκενάζειν, i. e., "to overshadow." Thus we get here a striking parallel to "the Holy Ghost overshadowing Mary." מרחפת, then, expresses the same thing as does the Babylonian "joining their waters in one."[1] If this be true then even in Gen. i. we find the thought expressed that the primeval waters or ocean are *parents*, who beget and would bring forth!

Thus here we have another striking similarity—notwithstanding its great difference—between the Biblical and Babylonian accounts of the creation! In both accounts the primeval waters were thought to be a kind of androgyn, male and female in one person, who thus became the first parents.

The writer of Gen. i. who apparently did not believe in an androgynous monster, retained the Tiâmat or Tehom, but substituted for the apsû "the Spirit of Elohim"[2] as the life-giving power of

[1] From this it also follows, of course, that the expression has nothing to do with the world-egg theory, which some scholars want to find here.

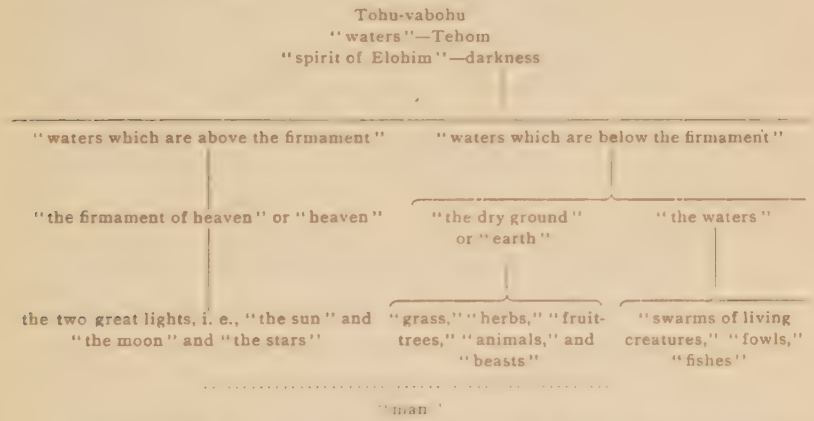
[2] The expression "spirit of Elohim" seems to stand in P. for the same idea as

everything. He wanted, it is true, to eliminate the androgynous character of the primeval ocean—the result we know.

Again if the Tehom is = Tiâmat, then חֹשֶׁךְ (the darkness) must be = Tiâmat too. Thus it was rightly said that the fight of *Marduk* with *Tiâmat* is nothing more or less than a fight of the *light* against the *darkness*.

But we have seen above that the god Marduk was called Elohim and made coeternal with Tehom, and that simply his *attribute* was retained by the writer of Gen. i. in order to help him to fabricating his days. We also have seen that the functions of the אוֹר are in contradiction to those of the sun, and thus must be spurious, i. e., אוֹר does not belong to the original account of Genesis;[1] it *must be left out*, if we would restore Gen. i. to its original text.

Bearing this in mind the account of Genesis i. contains a well connected genealogy, which is as follows:


Tohu-vabohu
"waters"—Tehom
"spirit of Elohim"—darkness
"waters which are above the firmament"
"waters which are below the firmament"
"the firmament of heaven" or "heaven"
"the dry ground" or "earth"
"the waters"
the two great lights, i. e., "the sun" and "the moon" and "the stars"
"grass," "herbs," "fruit-trees," "animals," and "beasts"
"swarms of living creatures," "fowls," "fishes"
"man"

I would draw the reader's attention here to the fact that "the waters above and below the firmament" are said to come from the Tehom, or the darkness,[2] a peculiarity which will be explained later on.

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the מֵימְרָא of the Targums! It was used in order to avoid as much as possible the "anthropomorphic idea" of God.

[1] If it did it ought to be made coeternal with Jahveh-Elohim, as Marduk was. But this would again be fatal—for in that case it would not be the first act of Elohim!

[2] (1) ויבדל אלהים בין האור ובין החשך

From the analogy above given it will be seen that "man" or the "creation of man," if we take our stand on the account of Gen. i., cannot be referred either to one or to the other side, i. e., we do not know whether he was a descendant of the "waters above the firmament" or of "the waters below the firmament," from which latter the "earth" and its "creatures" took their origin. All we learn is this: "man was created in the image and likeness of Elohim"—a ἓν διὰ δυοῖν, which tells us that man looks exactly like Elohim.[1] The Babylonian account tells us that man was made out of divine blood mixed with earth. The writer of Gen. i. with his monotheistic idea could, of course, never admit that the "blood of another god" was spilt—because there existed no other god. But he apparently accepted the idea that man was in some way or another connected with the gods, hence he made him to be created in the image and likeness of Elohim. The account given in the second chapter of Genesis has, however, for "image and likeness" the "breathing into man's nostrils the breath of life," which was done by Jahveh. In blood there is life, and life is a breath,—was the faith of the Jahvistic writer. Accordingly he substituted for the blood of God the "breath of God," thus connecting "man" again with his creator.

We have seen then that the fight of the light against the darkness does not belong originally to the account of Gen. 1. But, one may rightfully ask, if it does not, how are the apparent indications of such a fight to be found in Gen. 1 to be explained? To answer this question it will be necessary for us to examine the Babylonian account of the creation and see whether the original form of that account contained the fight of Marduk with Tiâmat or not.

That the Babylonian creation story had its development and required time to assume the shape in which we now know it, is of course self-evident. If we are able to trace the different threads in the development of the Hebrew literature by employing critical

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[1] Comp. here Gudea's dream where ^{dingir} Nin-Gir-su is said "to be a man," i. e., where a god is said to look "like a man."—This, no doubt, is the older conception: gods always look like the men to whose tribe or nation they belong. See below.

methods, I think we ought to be able also to trace the threads,—delicate and flimsy though they are,—which the inscriptions of early Babylonia put into our hands. In the following then I shall try to show that even the Babylonian creation story did not *originally* contain such a myth as the fight of Marduk with Tiâmat.

* * *

We have now to crave the reader's indulgence for a rather technical discussion of a few points which at first sight may seem indifferent: but this course of procedure is indispensable for an analysis of the creation-story of Genesis. Having established the genealogical order of the Babylonian divinities, we shall be better able to understand the kinship between the Hebrew Genesis and the Sumerian cosmogony.

Before entering on our investigation, it is necessary to say a few words about the meaning of NIN, EN, LUGAL, and DINGIR.

In the "trilingual list of gods," II R 59, we read in Col I, l. 48:

^{dingir}MUL DIN-TIR-^{ki} | ^{dingir}NIN-DIN-TIR-^{ki} | ^{dingir}AMAR-UD

The ^{dingir}AMAR-UD is Marduk. Marduk was the city-god of Babylon. But—and this is important—he is not called in the "Sumerian" column EN but NIN. This NIN is rightly transcribed in the EME-SAL column by U, i. e., MUL or UMUN = lord. Hence NIN must mean here = bêlu or "lord." This does not prove that Marduk as the city-god of Babylon became a "feminine." He retained his gender and remained a male deity, for in the same list, Col. II, l. 17, we read:

^{dingir}MUL (fem.!) DIN-TIR-^{ki} | ^{dingir}NIN-DIN-TIR-^{ki} | ^{du}Be-lit ^{alu}Bâb-ilu-^{ki}!

NIN, then, in this connection, i. e., when used with the name of a city,[1] may stand either for bêlu or bêltu, i. e., for *his* lordship,

[1] Forming with the name of the city a "proper name" as in ^{dingir}Nin-Gir-su or standing in apposition as in K. B. III^{1}. pp 24, 46 ^{dingir}Dumu-zi-zu-ab, nin Ki-nu-nir-^{ki}!!

or *her* lordship. In most cases we will be able to determine exactly the gender either from the syllabaries or from the "apposition" that may follow such a name, as for instance, ^{dingir}NIN-EN-LIL-^{ki} is explained in the very same list by "the wife of Ninib."

The ^{dingir}NIN-GIR-SU is called in the oldest Babylonian inscriptions the ur-sag or ur-sag lig-ga, "the mighty prime minister" of Bêl,—hence the city-god of Gir-su must have been a male divinity. It is indeed strange that male gods, when becoming gods of certain cities, should be called NIN; we should expect of course for NIN either EN or LUGAL. EN—as far as I know—is never used in this connection, but only LUGAL, see, e. g., the name ^{dingir}LUGAL-ERIM-^{ki}. The EME-SAL texts distinguish clearly between the gender by using two different signs, but not so the Sumerian of the lists or bilingual inscriptions,—and also not the old Sumerian. This latter, when intending to make the gender absolutely certain, uses for NIN the word LUGAL. LUGAL then always denotes a male, while NIN may stand either for a male or a female divinity. What may possibly be the reason for the use of this NIN?

We know that in Babylonia every city had its *special god.* As long as the city was in possession of her patron she enjoyed independence. But in case the "god left the city," or "went out of the city," i. e., when the god was carried away captive by a victorious king, the city lost her independence. The city-god, then, was something which had to be defended and protected, which had to be fostered and cared for, but which could also be "taken," either by force, inclination, or otherwise, which could be chosen, betrayed or given away, which could be sold,—all characteristics of a woman! Even we are in the habit of personifying our nations as feminine; note, for example: Helvetia, Bavaria, Borussia, Germania, Britannia, and Columbia!

From this also follows that a name like ^{dingir}Nin-Gir-su is no proper name but a surname or attribute. This is even grammatically indicated in the oldest inscription, for we find very often after the name ^{dingir}Nin-Gir-su the double postposition KA-GE. In this re-

spect Galet A of Eannatum[1] is especially interesting. Compare, e. g., such expressions as these:

"Eannatum....à-sum-ma dingir Nin-Gir-su-ka-ge, i. e., Eannatum....to whom power was given by (ge) the lord of (ka) Girsu."[2]

Such surnames or attributes of gods are very common, yes, we may rightly say that all the names of the gods we know are really not proper names at all, but attributes or appellatives.

To establish this, I may be allowed to cite a few more examples.

The name dingir Innanna cannot be a proper name, for we find the *double* postposition after it. If it were a proper name, only *one* postposition would be expected.

"Eannatum....mu-shag-sa-a dingir Innanna-ka-ge."[3]
Eannatum....dam ki-ag dingir Innanna-ka-ge."[4]

Hence we cannot translate the inscription of Lugaltarsi otherwise than has been done in E. B. H. p. 125_3, viz.: For the king of the lands (= Bêl) and for Innanna, the mistress of the divine Innanna, etc.

Among other names for "gods" which are used with a double postposition may be mentioned: dingir Nin-char-sag,[5] dingir Dumu-zi-zu-ab,[6] dingir Pa-sag,[7] gal + (ga)lu – dingir Erim,[8] and even dingir En-ki,[9] etc., etc.

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[1] See my *Early Babylonian History* (afterwards to be referred to as E. B. H.), p. 83 ff.

[2] For other examples see *ibid.*, col. VII, 9; V, 1; VI, 16; VII, 16 Cône of Entemena = E. B. H. p. 97 ff., col. V, 5 *et passim*.

[3] E. B. H. p. 84: Eannatum....who was called by the heart of the goddess of Innanna.

[4] Déc 3 B^1, col. II, 9: "Eannatum....the beloved husband of the goddess of Innanna. Thus it has to be translated! In this passage it is preceded by: Eannatum ....ku-li ki-ag dingir Gal + galu-Erim,—both sentences have to be separated on account of the parallelism. If we do not, then Lugal-Erim would become the dam-ki-ag of Innanna. That kings often *do* call themselves a "dam" or husband of a certain goddess is evident from E. B. H. pp. 230, 231, and notes.

[5] Galet A = E. B. H. p. 84, col. II. 3; comp. Déc. XLIV., col. IV. 10.

[6] *L. c.*, col. II, 9. [7] *L. c.*, p. 85, l. 11. [8] *L. c.*, l. 13.

[9] *L. c.*, p. 84, l. 7. dingir En-ki becomes thus the divine EN of KI. According to this analogy we ought to expect also, *l. c.* Col. I. l. 6, for mu-pad-da dingir En-

Not only, however, before the names of cities may NIN stand for bêlu. There are quite a good many "names of gods" composed with NIN, which can signify male gods only. In the composition of these names the NIN seems to mean as much as "possessor of" = Arabic dhû, dhât. To this class belong, among others, the following: ^{dingir} Nin-à-gal,[1] ^{dingir} Nin-dar-a lugal-en,[2] ^{dingir} Nin-gish-zi-da,[3] ^{dingir} Nin-gir,[4] Nin-dub lugal-en,[5] ^{dingir} Nin-sar gir-lal ^{dingir} Nin-Gir-su.[6]

If in this way NIN *may stand* for bêlu as well as for bêltu, we have, in order to determine the gender of the gods, whose names are compounded with NIN, to pay great attention to the titles or other attributes which may or may not follow. They will show us in most cases whether the god in question is either a male or a female.

The titles or attributes stand almost always in apposition, i. e., they *follow*[7] the name of the god. In these appositions we have to distinguish between:

(1) LULAL or EN and NIN on the one hand and;

(2) LUGAL and NIN on the other.

With regard to (1) as well as (2) the following examples may suffice:

Ur-Gur[8] dedicates an inscription to ^{dingir} En-lil, lugal-kur-kur-ra lugal-a-ni, i. e., to Bêl, king of the lands, his king. "The king of

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lil-ge = ^{dingir} En-lil-ka-ge. En-lil, however, I have not yet found with a double postposition.

[1] K. B. III[1]. p. 20: "the possessor of great power," whom Jensen, *l. c.*, p. 21, note *, takes according to II. R. 58, 58, to be "Ea als Gott der Schmiedekunst." K. B. III[1]. p. 24. E. B. H. 182, 185.

[2] K. B. III[1]. pp. 24, 28, 46, and E. B. H. 182_1, *et passim*.

[3] K. B. III[1]. pp. 28, 46, "the possessor of the tree of life."

[4] "The possessor of the gir," see below.

[5] I. R. 5. XXIII. Gudea Cyl. A VI. 5, "the possessor of the tablet."

[6] E. B. H. pp. 52, 54 (corrected! see below, p. 23, 6).

[7] Exceptions where the attributes precede the names are rare, but they occur. Comp., e. g., en ^{dingir} Nin-Gir-su "the lord Nin-Gir-su in Gudea Cyl. A. and B. pass. "Am Shir-pur-la-^{ki} azag ^{dingir} Ga-tum-dug" "the mother of Shirpurla, the glorious Gatumdug," Gudea, Statue B. VIII, 56, K. B. III[1]. p. 46. dingir-ra-mu ^{dingir} Nin-gish-zi-da "my god N." *l. c.*, col. IX., 4, and probably a few more.

[8] E. B. H. p. 222. For other examples, see E. B. H. *passim* and K. B. III.[1] p. 74–78.

the lands" and Ur-Gur's "king" is Bêl by virtue of his being a god. The former is his *attribute*, the *latter* expresses his *relation* to Ur-Gur. Rim-Sin[1] dedicates an inscription to ^{dingir}Nin-shach en-gal-lal . . . . lugal-a-ni-ir. The "en-gal-lal" expresses that which Nin-shach is by virtue of his being a god, the lugal-a-ni-ir expresses the relation in which he stands to Rim-Sin.

From these two observations we may draw the following rule:

Every *male god* when brought into relation to men (kings, or others who dedicate) is ALWAYS a LUGAL or "king," but by virtue of his being a god, he may be either a "LUGAL or king" or an "EN or lord." Every goddess, however, is by virtue of her being a goddess[2] as well as when brought into relation to men *always* a NIN[3] or "mistress." No. (1) expresses the titles of gods *as* gods. No. (2) expresses the *relation* of gods *to men!*

If this observation be true we may lay down another rule: NIN when in *apposition* indicates ALWAYS a *female* god, or goddess.[4] Thus there ought to correspond, e. g., to a LUGAL-EN a NIN-EN. Indeed we find this to be true! The ^{dingir}Nin-dar-a[5] is called LUGAL-EN[6], while ^{dingir}Ninâ has the apposition NIN-EN[7] or NIN-EN-NA.[8]

We have seen above that even the name ^{dingir}EN-KI must be composed of two separate names on account of the double post-position which it may suffer behind it. The ^{dingir}EN-KI is as the EN indicates a *male god*, hence is followed also by LUGAL[9] in

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[1] I. R. 3 No. X = K. B. III[1]. p. 94, 3. For a similar case see IV. R. 35 No. 6 = K. B. III[1]. p. 96, 6.

[2] See below the attributes of the wife of En-lil.

[3] E. B. H. p. 125. 222 *et passim*.

[4] EXCEPT when NIN stands *before* the name of a CITY or place! See p. 11, 1. ^{dingir}Dumu-zi-zu-ab NIN Ki-nu-nir^{ki}, in this case NIN may be *doubtful*! Further attributes or the name itself of the god must explain the gender in this case!

[5] Also read ^{dingir}Nin-si-a.

[6] E. B. H. p. 193. K. B. III[1]. p. 24. Lugal-en probably = the "lord of the priests," i. e., "the highpriest."

[7] E. B. H. pp. 193, 224, note 4. Nin-en probably = "the mistress of the priests, i. e., "the highpriestess."

[8] E. B. H. p. 87 note.

[9] See, e. g., lugal zu-ab, Déc. 4 B[2], col. IV, 3.

apposition. The counterpart of ^{dingir}EN-KI is ^{dingir}NIN-KI, which name is also to be found in the Earliest Babylonian Inscriptions.[1]

Here, then, we have *another* peculiarity. We do not find LUGAL + X for the male god, as we might expect, but ALWAYS EN. "EN" in such names as ^{dingir}EN-KI indicates the *masculine*, while "NIN" indicates the *feminine* gender. What may be the reason for THIS peculiarity? The answer is: male or masculine gods are LUGAL = king from the standpoint of men to whom kings, of course, also belong, but EN, when compared with their equals, their wives, i. e., "the husband-god" and the "wife-god," are on the same level considered by themselves, but when brought into relation with *men* the "husband-god" seems to enjoy a greater prerogative; nay, the kings considered themselves equal to a goddess, hence they sometimes called themselves the "dam" or husband of this or that goddess.[2]

To the same class with ^{dingir}EN-KI belong among others also ^{dingir}EN-LIL, ^{dingir}EN-ZU,[3] ^{dingir}EN-GUR,[4] ^{dingir}EN-Ba-u,[4] etc., etc. In all these names the "EN" corresponds to our "husband," or "Mr." If NIN were substituted for EN, we should have the "wife" or "Mrs."—hence the real proper name of ^{dingir}EN-KI would be ^{dingir}KI; the EN or NIN having been put before the KI in order to distinguish the "*husband*" from the "*wife*," or the "Mr." from the "Mrs."[5] In course of time these names came to be looked upon as *real* proper names, and only now and then does their grammatical construction betray to us the true fact, i. e., that

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[1] E. B. H. p. 81, note 1.

[2] See above, p. 13, 4. This fact also probably contributed somewhat to the "divine character" of the kings.

[3] See E. B. H. Index, gods, p. 443 sub E.

[4] So far not found in the oldest inscriptions. Thureau-Dangin in C. R. 1902, Janvier, p. 82, note 2, proposes to read the sign GUR = Engur, referring to C. T. XII. 38128, Rev. l. 18 compared with II. R. 58, 53*a*.

[5] Thus it happened that in course of time the deity was *differentiated*, i. e., the deity was originally a self-perpetuating being, a kind of androgyn, and later on was separated or thought to exist as "husband" and "wife." Comp. the ^{dingir}GUR, ^{dingir}EN-GUR, ^{dingir}NIN-GUR and also Gen. ii. 21, where Eve is said to have been made "from one of the ribs," i. e., better "sides" of Adam.

they are names composed out of EN resp. NIN + the *real name* of the god.

The last point which we have to discuss is the use of the name DINGIR or "god." The oldest Babylonian inscriptions are *always very careful* to put the ^{dingir}-sign before the name of a god.[1] The names for god Anu[2] and Gu-la[3] are probably the only ones which generally occur without the dingir-sign.[4]

The negligence in omitting the sign *dingir* before the names of gods begins at the time of the first dynasty of Babylon. Above we have seen that every city had its god. Not only the cities, however, but also the different kings and patesis (priest-kings) had their favored deities whom they termed *dingir*,—while the others were either LUGAL or NIN. The *god* of Urukagina was ^{dingir} Nin-shullil,[5] that of Eannatum,[6] and Entemena:[7]

^{dingir} Dun-gur[8] or also written ^{dingir} Dun-gur-an;[9]

^{dingir} Nin-à-gal[10] is the god of Ur-Ba-u;

^{dingir} Nin-gish-zi-da[11] that of Gudea;

^{dingir} Lugal-banda[12] that of Sin-gâshid, etc., etc.

If cities and kings and patesis had their special gods, it is more than probable that also the "lands" and "countries," the "families" and "tribes," in fact, every "person," had his own

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[1] Except when the name of a god occurs in a name of a city: e. g., EN-LIL-^{ki} = Nippur, for ^{dingir} EN-LIL-^{ki}. But see E. B. H., Index, Gods.

[2] In the Old Babylonian inscriptions the god Anu is mostly written AN NA, but also AN-E (Gudea, Statue B, VIII. 45 = K. B. III[1]. p. 46), An-nu-um, ^{du} An-nu-um, and ^{lingir} AN occur, see E. B. H. Index, Gods, p. 442. Here also belongs, of course, his wife An-nat.

[3] See E. B. H. p. 443.

[4] ^{dingir} Ba-u, when in proper names and written "Ba-bi," has never the sign of dingir.

[5] E. B. H. p. 51. [6] E. B. H. p. 92.

[7] E. B. H. p. 108. K. B. III[1]. p. 72. [8] E. B. H. p. 92.

[9] E. B. H. pp. 115, 116, 118. [10] Ur-Ba-u V. 4, 5 = K. B. III[1]. p. 24.

[11] E. B. H. pp. 196, 199, 207. K. B. III[1]. pp. 28, 46 (= Statue B, III. 4, 5. IX. 4). Cyl. A. XVIII. 15 *et passim*.

[12] K. B. III[1]. p. 84. Lugal-banda is the husband of Nin-sun, who again is the mother of Nin-gish-zi-da (Cyl. B. 23, 5", 6"), and this latter is said to be a dumu-ka An-na-kam (Cyl. B. l. c.). For dumu-ka = "descendant," see E. B. H. pp. 14, 15.

special god. The inscriptions so far accessible to scholars do not shed much light upon this question, yet there are at least one or two examples that countries had their special gods: ^{dingir}Mar-tu, "the god of the Westland," i. e., of the Ammorites.[1] In the old Babylonian inscriptions, Babylonia, when spoken of in its totality, i. e., when South and North Babylonia are meant, is called:

Ki-en-gi-ki-Urdu (BUR-BUR).

A ^{dingir}Urdu (BUR-BUR)-zi occurs in an inscription of Ninkagina[2] and in Cyl. B of Gudea.[3] The ZI in the name of this god is, no doubt, the same as that in the name ^{dingir}EN-LIL-ZI, which latter name is explained by nu-banda (?) ^{ilu}Bêl (EN-LIL),[4] i. e., "the servant of Bêl." The ^{dingir}Urdu-zi then is the "servant" of "god Urdu," and as ^{dingir}EN-LIL is the city-god of Nippur, so probably is ^{dingir}Urdu the country-god of Urdu (BUR-BUR), which latter again with "KI" or "place" sign before or after it, signifies the country "Akkad." In like manner, we might explain Ki-en-gi as the land (KI) of EN-GI—and EN-GI being = "husband" or "Mr." GI—we should have here another god of a country, viz., that of Shumer.[5]

The results of our investigation so far would be as follows:

NIN before or in composition with the names of cities and deified attributes may stand either for a male or female god,—the context or syllabaries or other texts must be taken in to decide the gender of each respective god.

LUGAL before or in composition with the names of cities or deified attributes stands always for a male divinity.

NIN in apposition or as attribute of a divinity always shows that that divinity is *feminine*; if it be masculine the word LUGAL or EN is used.

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[1] E. B. H. p. 411. Here belong, of course, the deified attributes ^{dingir}Lugal-kur-kur-ra, ^{dingir}Nin-char-sag, etc.

[2] E. B. H. p. 186. [3] Cyl. B. IX. 13. [4] II. R. 59 col. I. 20.

[5] If my explanation of Shumer = Gir-su (see E. B. H. p. 216 ff.) be correct, the ^{dingir}Nin-Gir-su, the surname, would stand for the god GI or better for ^{dingir}EN-GI. Such a ^{dingir}EN-GI seems to occur in IV. R. 35 No. 6 = K. B. III^{1}. p. 96. 6.

NIN and EN in proper names for gods correspond to our "Mr." and "Mrs." The real name of the god being always expressed by the sign that follows the Nin or EN respectively.

Bearing this in mind, we may now consider the names of the different gods themselves.

1. The god LIL.

Mr. LIL, according to our rules laid down above, would have to be called ^{dingir}EN-LIL and Mrs. LIL, ^{dingir}NIN-LIL—both occur in the oldest inscriptions.[1] ^{dingir}EN-LIL is called lugal-kur-kur.[2] This attribute has become in course of time even a proper name, to which the sign *dingir* was prefixed: ^{dingir}Lugal-kur-kur.[3] If EN-LIL was a lugal-kur-kur, then his wife must have been a nin-kur-kur: this would follow from the analogy of the case! So far I have not yet seen an inscription where NIN-LIL is called nin-kur-kur, but EN-LIL is called also lugal-an-ki,[4] and NIN-LIL nin-an-ki.[5] Not only NIN-LIL is the "mistress of heaven and earth" but also ^{dingir}Nin-char-sag.[6] This latter goddess is also called am dingir-ri-ne[7] and am tur-tur-ne,[8] while ^{dingir}En-lil has the title: ab-ba din-gir-dingir-ru-ne,[9] and is the same as the ^{dingir}Lugal-dingir-e-ne.[10]

Am dingir-ri-ne is also the attribute of ^{dingir}Nin-tu.[11] ^{dingir}Sal (var. NIN)-in-si-na[12] is called am kalam-ma zi-gàl kalam gim-

[1] For the different writings and for references see E. B. H. Index, gods, sub. E. and N., pp. 443 and 445.

[2] "King of the lands," E. B. H. pp. 131, 134, 151 *et passim*.

[3] E. B. H. p. 125, note 3; p. 132, l. 14.

[4] "King of heaven and earth," Stele of Vultures, London 23580, col. II. 10.

[5] "Mistress of heaven and earth," E. B. H. p. 125, note 1.

[6] E. B. H. p. 199 and note 5.

[7] "Mother of the gods," Ur-Ba-u III. 8 = K. B. III[1]. p. 22.

[8] "Mother of the children," E. B. H. p. 198 and note I. 3.

[9] E. B. H. p. 97, "father of the gods," cp. the a-bu ilâni banû in Shalm. II. Obelisk l. 4.

[10] IV. R. 35_1 = K. B. III[1]. p. 78, "the king of the gods."

[11] E. B. H. p. 199, and note 5.

[12] See also ^{dingir}Innanna ^{dingir}Nin-an (sic! not dingir)-si-an-na E. B. H. p. 273.

gim-me[1] and dumu-sag an-azag-ga.[2] This latter title she has in common with ^{dingir}Ba-u,[3] who again is called dumu AN-NA[4] or dumu-sag AN-NA[5], but also ^{dingir}Ga-tum-dug is called dumu an-azag-gi tu-da.[6] ^{dingir}Ba-u[7] as well as ^{dingir}Ga-tum-dug[8] are called am Shir-pur-la-^{ki}, i. e., "mother of Lagash," the former is also known under the name Nin-an-da-gal-ki,[9] as such again she is identical with ^{dingir}Nin-char-sag![10] EN-LIL was called lugal-kur-kur, and the nin-kur-kur is ^{dingir}Innanna.[11] Especially interesting is the ^{dingir}Innanna nin-char-sag[12]—this latter attribute being made later on a proper name, thus becoming ^{dingir}Nin-char-sag! Other attributes of ^{dingir}Innanna are: nin mè[13] and nin azag-nun-na.[14]

Sometimes ^{dingir}Nin-lil,[15] or ^{dingir}Innanna,[16] or ^{dingir}Nin-char-sag[17] is coupled with ^{dingir}En-lil. From all this it follows that the above given goddesses were originally the same as "Mrs." Lil or NIN-

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[1] "Mother of the world (or people), who created the creatures of the world," E. B. H. p. 202, note I. 1.

[2] E. B. H. p. 202, note I. 1: "the firstborn of An-azag-ga, i. e., the glorious AN."

[3] E. E. H. p. 209: Gudea, Statue H. col. I. 6.

[4] E. B. H. *l. c.* col. I. 3. Gudea, Statue G. col. II. 5 = K. B. III[1]. p. 58, "child of AN-NA."

[5] Gudea, St. B. VIII. 59 = K. B. III[1]. p. 46, Cyl. A. XX. 19.

[6] Gudea, Cyl. A. II. 27 = Thureau-Dangin, Le songe de Goudéa, p. 6, "child born of the glorious AN.

[7] E. B. H. p. 21. But see also Déc. p. XXXIII. and Revue archéol, 1886, pl. VII. No. 1.

[8] Gudea, Statue B. VIII. 56, 57 = K. B. III[1]. p. 46.

[9] "Mistress of the wide heaven and earth," E. B. H. 206, and note 12.

[10] See above, p. 19, 6.

[11] "Mistress of the lands," E. B. H. p. 199 = Gudea, Statue C. col. II. 2, and p. 201, col. IV. 10.

[12] P. S. B. A. XIII. 159 = K. B. III[1]. p. 98 (Rim-Sin): "Innanna the mistress of the mountain."

[13] "Mistress of battle," Gudea, St. B. VIII. 61.

[14] "The glorious exalted mistress," Ur-Ba-u IV. 8. Jensen, K. B. III[1]. p. 22.

[15] E. B. H. p. 125, note 1.

[16] E. B. H. p. 125, note 2: here after ^{dingir}Lugal-kur-kur, which is here, as was shown above, p. 19, 3, a name for ^{dingir}EN-LIL.

[17] Gudea, Statue B. VIII. 47 = K. B. III[1]. p. 46.

LIL, who is expressly called the dam ^{dingir}En-lil.[1] They represent NIN-LIL in her different capacities and are "deified" attributes of the wife of LIL. Such a "deification" of attributes seems to have been almost endless and began at the very earliest times of Babylonian history.

Not only, however, the attributes contributed greatly to the multiplicity of a single god or goddess, but also the places where such a god or goddess might be worshipped. Thus we have a ^{dingir}Innanna-edin,[2] a ^{dingir}Innanna-Erin-^{ki} (= the goddess of Susa), and in later times the Ishtar of Arba-ilu, of Ninâ, and Kidmuri. There seem to have been even different EN-LILs, as is apparent from such expressions as ^{dingir}En-lil En-lil-^{ki}-a[3] "the Nippurian Enlil or Bêl" in contradistinction to *another* Bêl. ^{dingir}Ba-u, another name[4] for ^{dingir}Nin-lil, the wife of EN-LIL, is the dumu or sometimes also the dumu-sag of AN-NA, i. e., the "child" or "firstborn child" of AN-NA.[5]

What was the name of the father of EN-LIL? The old Babylonian inscriptions do not give an answer to this question, but from Assyrian inscriptions we know that Bêl (the Semitic Babylonian for EN-LIL) was called the mâr rêshtû shamê, i. e., "the firstborn child of heaven." The Assyrian shamê translates the Sumerian AN or AN-NA, hence it follows also EN-LIL was the firstborn of AN. This is important: ^{dingir}Ba-u as well as ^{dingir}En-lil are a FIRSTBORN: both are *brother* and *sister* but at the same time *husband* and *wife!*

(2) The children of EN-LIL.

(*a*) The god ZU.

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[1] "The wife of Enlil," E. B. H. p. 125_1.

[2] See E. B. H. Index, gods.

[3] E. B. H. p. 272 *et passim*.

[4] On account of the writing "Ba-bi," see the proper name Ur-Ba-bi and the E-Ba-bi in E. B. H. pp. 237, 326, and 365. I consider "Ba-u" to be a *Semitic* name. In later inscriptions occurs also the writing ^{dingir}Ba bur. Ba-bi = genitive, and Ba-bur = dative (sic!) is in *Sumerian* impossible. Ba-bur is formed in Semitic *and* Sumerian fashion, as the r (= ra or ru) shows. In good Sumerian the postposition "ra" is shortened to r only after i as in ni, cp: dingir-ra-ni-ir, lugal-a-ni-ir! This ^{dingir}Ba-u has of course nothing to do with the בהו in Gen. i 2.

[5] See above, p. 20, 4. 5.

Mr. ZU is EN-ZU[1] and Mrs. ZU is NIN-ZU. The latter is known to me only from the proper name Ur-^{dingir}Nin-zu, "the servant of NIN-ZU."[2] Another, *later*, name[3] for EN-ZU was ^{dingir}Uru,[4] or mostly written ^{dingir}Uru-ki.[4]

This ^{dingir}Uru-ki is the dumu-sag ^{dingir}En-lil-lal.[5] Under the name ^{dingir}En-zu he is known also as the amar-banda ^{dingir}En-lil[6] and as ^{dingir}Uru-ki as the amar-banda An-na.[7] The wife of ^{dingir}Uru-ki is also called ^{dingir}Nin-gal.[8] Uru-ki or En-zu had several children:

α. ^{dingir}UD,[9] who is called "sib tu-da ^{dingir}Uru-ki."[10] The wife ^{dingir}A-A of ^{dingir}UD is so far not found in Old Babylonian texts.

β. ^{dingir}Innanna nin char-sag . . . TUR-SAL ^{dingir}EN-ZU-NA.[11]

With ^{dingir}UD probably is closely connected the ^{dingir}AMAR-UD, i. e., "the ox of UD,"[12] or "the child of UD."[13] This god does not[14] occur in the oldest inscription. He is known to us

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[1] For the inscriptions in which he occurs see E. B. H., Index, gods, p. 443 sub E.

[2] E. B. H. 412, $_1$. To read Nin-a-zu for Nin-zu is not necessary, for we know from later inscriptions that EN-ZU had a *wife*, and if he had, her real or original name *must* have been ^{dingir}Nin-zu.

[3] Which was originally an attribute of EN-ZU.

[4] See E. B. H., Index, gods, p. 445 sub U. The ki at the end probably is only the prolongation syllable. Comp. also Uru-nung-^{ki}-ma, not Uru-ki-nung-^{ki}ma.

[5] "The firstborn of Enlil." 1 R. 1 No. I. 4 (K. B. III^1. p. 76 No. 3), 1 R. 1 No. I. 5 (K. B. III^1. p. 78. $_4$). 1 R. 5 No. XX (K. B. III^1. p. 92, l. 21).

[6] Déc. 4 B^2. V. 1, "the strong ox = puru iqdu, rêmu iqdu of En-lil.

[7] 1 R. 1 No. I. 4 = K. B. III^1. p. 76, $_3$.

[8] "The great mistress," 1 R. 2, No. VI, 1 (K. B. III^1. p. 86, $_1$); 1 R 2, No. IV (K. B. III^1. p. 90, *d*).

[9] Generally read ^{dingir}Utu.

[10] "The shepherd, born by Uru-ki." 1 R. 2, No. VI. 1 (K. B. III^1. p. 86, $_1$.)

[11] "Innanna, the mistress of the mountain . . . . the daughter of ^{dingir}En-zu, P. S. B. A. XIII. 159 (K. B. III^1. 98). Comp. also Ishtar's descent, IV. R. 31, $_2$ (K. B. VI. 81): ^{ilu}Ishtar TUR-SAL ^{ilu}Sin. For the writing EN-ZU-NA for EN-ZU, see also E. B. H. p. 317, $_1$: ^{dingir}Ur-^{dingir}En-zu-na.

[12] Comp. the "amar banda" above, note 6.

[13] Comp. the proper name ^{dingir}AMAR ^{dingir}EN-ZU = Bur-Sin II., King of Ur, E. B. H. p. 266, note 2. According to the analogy of this name AMAR-UD might also be translated by "an ox is UD or Shamash."

[14] The cities Tu-tu-^{ki} (E. B.H. p. 174), Su-kur-ru-^{ki} (E. B. H. p. 302. xi) do not prove anything. OBI No. 87. I. 30 is ^{dingir}UMU and not ^{dingir}SHID (E. B. H. p.

only since the time of the first dynasty of Babylon, about 2400 B. C.

In this line somewhere belongs also Nin-gish-zi-da, Lugal-banda, and Nin-sun, see above p. 584, 12.

b. Another child of dingir En-lil is dingir Nin-Gir-su,[1] the city-god of Girsu. How this god was originally called, or what his real name was, we do not know as yet.[2] He is a male divinity.[3] The wife of dingir Nin-Gir-su was dingir Ba-u.[4] A sister of dingir Nin-Gir-su is dingir Ninâ.[5] The dumu-ush 7 dingir Ba-u-me banda en dingir Nin-Gir-su-ka-me[6] are hardly the sons of En-lil and Ba-u but of Nin-Gir-su

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133) Su-kur-ru-ki should be read according to Br Mus 82–8–16, 1, l. 45 Shu-ru-up-pak. Tu-tu-ki had probably also another pronunciation. Strange, very strange, is that Bur-Sin II, whose name is written dingir AMAR dingir EN-ZU, should be worshipped after his death as the MUL-AMAR-UD (E B H p 316). He, being while alive a "child of Sin," becomes sometime after his death a "child of Shamash"!

[1] Cyl A of Gudea, col VII 5: dingir Nin-gir-su dumu dingir En-lil-lal-ka. *Ibid.*, VIII. 21: dumu dingir En-lil-lal en dingir Nin-Gir-su, cp. also *ibid.* IX. 3.

[2] See, however, above, p. 18. [3] See above, p. 12.

[4] dingir Nin-Gir-su-ge dingir Ba-u dumu An-na dam ki-ag-ga-ni. Gudea, Statue G, col II 3 ff (K B III[1] p 58) This dingir Ba-u is of course the same as the dingir Ba-u the wife of dingir En-lil.

[5] See below sub "god KI."

[6] "The 7 sons of Ba-u the banda of lord Nin-Gir-su." Gudea, Cyl. B. XI. 11, 12 The sign ush after dumu is not quite clear. The 7 is plainly written According to my transcription which I made from Price's text, there seem to be mentioned only 6 sons Where is the seventh? The six mentioned are the following (l. l. 4–10):

l. 4. dingir Za-za-ru.
5. dingir Im-pa-ud-du.
6. úr (= ishdu)-kalam-ta-ud-du-a.
7. dingir Ghe(GAN)-gir-nun-na.
8. dingir Ghe(GAN)-shag-ga.
9. dingir Ka-úr(= ishdu)-mu.
10. dingir Za-ar-mu.

Uru-ka-gi-na in his Barrel-Cylinder, E B H p 53, mentions also the following gods: II. 10 dingir Za-za-ru, 11. dingir Im-pa-ud du, 12 dingir Gim-nun-ta-ud-du-a. 14. dingir Nin-sar gir-lal dingir Nin-Gir-su (so read also E B. H. p 52, l 23, where Nin-sar is mentioned too, and comp. for this reading Déc. p. XLIX, copie de F Thureau-Dangin). There can hardly be any doubt that dingir Gim-nun-ta-ud-du-a is = úr-kalam-ta-ud-du-a, hence we ought to read above l 6 = dingir Ur-kalam ta-ud-du-a. For the formation of the name comp. dingir E-SHIT-LAM-ta-ud-du-a = Nergal.

and Ba-u. A child of dingir Nin-Gir-su was also called dingir Dun-shag-ga.[1] He must be a male god, because Gudea dedicates the inscription to him as his "KING."[2] He probably is the same as the dingir Ghe(GAN)-shag-ga.[3] Another child of Nin-Gir-su was dingir Gàl-alim dumu ki-ag-ga-ni en dingir Nin-Gir-su.[4]

3. The god AN.

According to our principle laid down above, "Mr." AN[5] would be called EN-AN and Mrs. AN NIN-AN. The EN-AN occurs so far only in proper names, as e. g., EN-AN-NA-tum.[6] NIN-AN is not found at all. That there indeed existed a "Mr." and a "Mrs." AN is evident from the Semitic Inscription of An-nu-ba-ni-ni, where they are called An-nu-um and An-nat respectively.[7] At the time of the fourth dynasty of Ur the eleventh month was sacred to him, which month was therefore called "the month of the festival of An-na."[8] He was the father of EN-LIL.[9] But who was the father of AN? Before we answer this question, we shall have to consider the god KI.

4. The god KI.

Mr. KI again is EN-KI and Mrs. KI NIN-KI. Both names occur already in the oldest inscriptions.[10] Another name of Mrs. KI was dingir Dam-gal-nun-na,[11] i. e., "the great wife of Nun." From

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[1] E. B. H. p. 195, 196: dingir Dun-shag-ga dumu ki-ag dingir Nin-Gir-su-ka lugal-a-ni Gudea.

[2] See above, p. 18.

[3] See preceding page, note 6.

[4] Gudea Cyl. B. VI. 22: "Gàl-alim his beloved child of Nin-Gir-su." See also Statue B. II. 18, 19 (K. B. III[1]. p. 28), and E. B. H. pp. 49, 51. He is mentioned by Uru-ka-gi-na in the same inscriptions in which the other sons of Nin-Gir-su occur!

[5] For the different writings see above, p. 17, 2.

[6] See E. B. H., Index, proper names, p. 436 sub E.

[7] E. B. H. p. 177.

[8] E. B. H. pp. 296, 299, 302: Itu Ezen An-na.

[9] See above, p. 81.

[10] For EN-KI see E. B. H. Index, gods, p. 443 sub. E., and for NIN-KI E. B. H. p. 81, note 1. The later writing dingir EN-KI-ga with an unknown pronunciation (Jensen, K. B. III[1]. p. 21, note †) I have not yet found in the oldest texts. Comp. here, however, the name: NUN-^{ki} = Urudug-^{ki} or Eridug-^{ki} = Eridu.

[11] E. B. H. p 224. In the later Assyrian texts dingir Dam-gal-nun-na became Damkina. II. R. 55, 53. 54d (comp. l. 16): (Ea) Dam-ki-na ashshati-shu.

this it follows, that EN-KI had also the name NUN, or else NIN-KI could not have been called "the great wife of NUN." EN-KI is called lugal zu-ab.[1] This would presuppose a title "nin zu-ab" for NIN-KI; I have, however, not yet found this latter title for Mrs. KI. And because EN-KI is the lugal zu-ab it is probable that the ^{dingir}Dumu-zi-zu-ab,[2] also shortened to ^{dingir}Dumu-zi,[2] was a son of EN-KI. Of the ^{dingir}Dumu-zi the later ^{ilu}Tammuz is no doubt a simple contraction.[3] To ^{dingir}Dumu-zi was dedicated at the time of Sargon I. and later on also at the time of the fourth dynasty of Ur, the *sixth*[4] month, which was called "the festival of ^{dingir}Dumu-zi."[5] A daughter of EN-KI (hence also a brother of ^{dingir}Dumu-zi-zu-ab) was ^{dingir}Ninâ.[6] In the old Babylonian texts she is called "a child of NUN-^{ki},"[7] i. e., Eridu. Gudea calls her:

nin-en nin-me ^{dingir}KAL ^{dingir}KAL-LA
nin ^{dingir}En-lil-gim nam-tar-tar-ri.[8]

The epithet nin-en of Ninâ is found also in other inscriptions[9] —but always after Ninâ! To the nin-en must correspond, as we have seen, a lugal-en, and this is the epithet of ^{dingir}Nin-dar-a,[10]

[1] "The king of the zu-ab, i. e., the apsû or abyss." Déc. 4 B^2. col. IV. 3.

[2] For references see E. B. H. Index, gods, p. 442, sub. D.

[3] See E. B. H. p. 298.

[4] Thus we ought to number and not as it was done in E. B. H. pp. 287 and 306 (List of months, the first two columns). The itu Ezen She-il-la, instead of being the first, ought to be the *last* (12th or 13th) month! See Thureau-Dangin's review of my E. B. H. in Z. A. XV. p. 409. The festival of Tammuz was celebrated in Phœnicia and Palestine, likewise originally in the 6th month, see Ezekiel viii. 1 (Masoretic Text). In later times, beginning with the first dynasty of Babylon about 2400 B. C., the month of sowing SHU-KUL-NA became the month Du-'-u-zu, i. e., Tammuz or the 4th month. E. B. H. p. 306 (list of months).

[5] Itu Ezen ^{dingir}Dumu-zi, E. B. H. p. 288, 306 (list).

[6] IV. R. 1, col. II. 38.

[7] ^{dingir}Ninâ dumu NUN-^{ki}, Gudea, Cyl. A. XX. 16. Comp. *ibid.* col. II. 15, NUN-^{ki} is the city of NUN or EN-KI!

[8] Mistress of the priests, mistress of the decrees (? ME or better divinations then = shib for me!) of the ^{dingir}KAL, mistress who like En-lil decrees the fates. Gudea, Cyl. A. IV. 8, 9. Comp. also Thureau-Dangin, Songe de Goudéa, C. R. 1901, p. 119, and the other epithet: en-me-li (= enshi), Cyl. A. II. 1, 16, III. 26; IV. 12 *et passim.*

[9] E. B. H. pp. 193, 224 note 4, 87 note.

[10] E. B. H. p. 193. Ur-Ba-u, col. V. 2 (K. B. III^1. p. 24).

who becomes thus the husband of ^{dingir}Ninâ. Of him we know in other respects nothing.

A *second* name of the husband of Ninâ was ^{dingir}Nin-dub, "the lord of the tablet (writing)," who together with Nin-Gir-su and Nidaba appeared unto Gudea in his dream, and who presented unto Gudea the "plan of the temple E-ninnû."[1] In another place[2] he is called "lugal-en" and has therefore exactly the same title as ^{dingir}Nin-dar-a, and is thus identical with the latter.

A *third* name of Nin-dar-a was ^{dingir}Lugal-Erim-^{ki}.[3] Ur-Ba-u calls himself the nitagh ki-ag, "the beloved servant" of this god.[4] My reason for identifying ^{dingir}Lugal-Erim-^{ki} with ^{dingir}Nin-dar-a = ^{dingir}Nin-dub = ^{dingir}Ud-mà-Ninâ-^{ki}-shurit-ta (see below) is this: Lagash or Shirpurla consisted of four suburbs, each suburb being called after the name of a god, or better, being dedicated to a god. These suburbs were:

1. Gir-su-^{ki}, with ^{dingir}Nin-Gir-su as its god.
2. Uru-azag-ga with the wife of Nin-Gir-su: ^{dingir}Ba-u as its patroness.
3. Ninâ-^{ki} with ^{dingir}Ninâ, and
4. Erim-^{ki} with ^{dingir}Lugal-Erim-^{ki}.

It seems probable that Ninâ-^{ki} (^{dingir}Ninâ) stands in the same relation to Erim-^{ki} (^{dingir}Lugal-Erim-^{ki}) as does Uru-azag-ga (^{dingir}Ba-u) to Gir-su-^{ki} (^{dingir}Nin-Gir-su). In this case, we would have here "two couples," each couple consisting of *husband* and *wife*. These couples are also "brothers and sisters"—for ^{dingir}Ninâ expressly calls ^{dingir}Nin-Gir-su *my brother*.[5] If this observation be true, then ^{dingir}Lugal-Erim-^{ki} would be

(1) the husband of Ninâ and

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[1] See Gudea, Cylinder A. col. VI. 5 and V. 2 (where he is not mentioned with name) and Thureau-Dangin, Songe de Goudéa, p. 121.

[2] I. R. 5, XXIII. = Winckler, *Altbabylonische Keilschrifttexte*, p. 4, No, 11a.

[3] E. B. H. p. 113. Jensen, K. B. III[1]. p. 20 (Ur-Ba-u col. II. l. 2).

[4] Jensen, *l. c.*

[5] Gudea, Cyl. A. V. 17 and 11. See below, p. 27, 5.

(2) the brother of Nin-Gir-su, i. e., he would belong to the descendants of ^{kur}KI and thus be a son of ^{dingir}EN-KI.[1]

Other attributes of Ninâ are: en-me-li-azag[2] or en-me-li dingir-ri-ne;[3] nin-in-dub-ba.[4] ^{dingir}Ninâ calls ^{dingir}Nin-Gir-su "my brother,"[5] and ^{dingir}Nidaba "my sister."[6] ^{dingir}Ninâ is also called the NIN of ^{dingir}Ud-mâ-Ninâ-^{ki}-shurit-ta.[7] It may not be impossible that this ^{dingir}Ud-mâ-Ninâ-^{ki}-shurit-ta be a *fourth* name of her husband[8] ^{dingir}Nin-dar-a.

The firstborn of Ninâ was ^{dingir}Nin-Mar-^{ki}.[9]

To KI's line belongs, no doubt also ^{dingir}Gal-dim-zu-ab.[10]

From Old Babylonian inscriptions we cannot as yet make out the father or the mother of EN-KI himself, but a later text tells us that "^{dingir}GUR was the mother of god Ea."[11] Who or what is this ^{dingir}GUR?

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[1] It should be observed here, that the husband of a wife is at the same time *always* her brother! Comp. ^{dingir}EN-LIL and ^{dingir}Ba-u. See also Winckler, M. V. A. G. 1901, 4, p. 14 ff.

[2] Gudea, Cyl. A II 1 III. 16. For en-me-li to be pronounced enshi, see Br. 2918. Br. Mus. 82-8-16, 1 (= A. W. p. 54 f. = Hom. S. L. p. 97) l. 21. Thureau-Dangin translates it by "divineresse," Songe de Goudéa, p. 116.

[3] Gudea, Cyl. A. II. 16, IV. 12.

[4] "Mistress of tablet writing," Gudea, Statue B. VIII. 53. E. B. H. 193.

[5] Shesh-mu ^{dingir}Nin-Gir-su, Gudea, Cyl. A. V. 17, comp. with l. 11. See also Gudea, Statue D. IV. 2-3 (K. B. III[1]. p. 52), where Ninâ and Nin-Gir-su are coupled together.

[6] Gudea, Cyl. A. V. 25: nin (notice the sign for nin)-mu ^{dingir}Nidaba.

[7] Gudea, Cyl. A. II. 1, 17, III. 27, IV. 5 (E Kisal ^{dingir}Ud-mâ-Ninâ-^{ki}-shurit-ta). Nin here = sister? (notice the sign !) E. B. H. p. 103 (where instead of tag = shurit must be read on account of the prolongation syllable. For TAG = shurit see S^{c} 292).

[8] In this case NIN = "Mrs." or "wife of"; see above, p. 16. The temple of Ninâ was called E-Ud-mâ-Ninâ-^{ki}-shurit and was situated in Ninâ-^{ki}, a suburb of Shirpurla-Lagash, E. B. H. p. 193.

[9] Ur-Ba-u V. 10 (K. B. III[1]. p. 24): ^{dingir}Nin-Mar-^{ki} sal-shag-ga dumu-sag ^{dingir}Ninâ, i. e., Nin-Mar-^{ki} (the mistress of Mar, a city), the gracious lady, the firstborn of Ninâ. See also Gudea, Statue B. IX. 1 (K. B. III[1]. p. 46).

[10] E. B. H. p. 106.

[11] IV. R. 1, col. II. 36. The god Ea is "EN-KI." The sign GUR is = NI-GIN + inserted GHAL, the same as in Ur-Gur, king of Ur. For the reading EN-GUR instead of GUR see above, p. 16, note 4.

Hommel[1] identified ^{dingir}GUR with ^{dingir}Ba-u. He was able to adduce seven "reasons" for his supposition. The very fact that he brought in just *seven* "reasons" was at once a bad omen. He introduces his seven reasons thus (p. 220):

"Da Bel, wie der Eigenname ^{2}E-KUR-dumu^{2}-nunna (d. i., Igur Sohn Nunna's) beweist, als Sohn des Himmelsoceans von den Babyloniern aufgefasst wurde (vgl. auch noch Ursp., S. 37, Z. 6 v. u. Bel mâr rishtû shamí), so ist es nach der stereotypen Folge Anu, Bel, Ea, *mehr als wahrscheinlich, dass sie auch den Ea als Sohn Bel's betrachteten*[3] und dass in der Reihe Anum (Nun, anna), Bel (Gunlilla), Ea (Gun-kia oder Dugga), Merodach, die älteste babylonische Göttergenealogie vorliegt."

His argument about the sonship of Ea, then, is this: "On account of the stereotyped sequence Anu, Bel, Ea, it is *more than probable* that Ea was the son of Bel!" Upon this pillar of truth, this unquestionable fact of proof, his whole argument is built up. But let us go on. He says:

"Anum hat keine Gemahlin....das Fem. Anatu der lexicalischen Listen (ist) erst eine spätere Abstraction, welche in den alten bilinguen Texten wie in den Inschriften von Tello noch nirgends vorkommt."

This, I suppose, he probably will no longer maintain now, because the "An-nat" of Annu-bânini will be known to him. Annu-bânini lived even before Sargon I., i. e., before 3800 B. C.,—hence "An-nat" or the wife of Anu was known as early as that. He then speaks of the wives of Enlil and enumerates the Nin-lilla and the Nin-ghar-sagga and says:

"Ein anderer (viz., name of the wives of Enlil) war ^{4}^{dingir}GUR,^{4} eine ausgesprochene Himmelsoceansgöttin, welche in den bilinguen Texten als "Mutter des Gottes Ea" (*also demnach als Gemahlin des Vaters des Ea, eben des Bel*)[5] bezeichnet wird (4 R. i. 36 b)."

Because Ea was *declared on account of the stereotyped sequence*: Anu Bel Ea, to be *the son of Bel*, and because ^{dingir}GUR is the

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[1] "Die Identität der ältesten babylonischen und ägyptischen Göttergenealogie und der babylonische Ursprung der ägyptischen Kultur, in *Transactions of the International Congress of Orientalists.*" Von Prof. Dr. Fritz Hommel. London, 1893.

[2] Given in cuneiform signs.

[3] Italics are mine.

[4] Given in cuneiform signs.

[5] Italics are mine.

mother of Ea, hence he follows ^{dingir}GUR *must* be also the wife of Bel! This argument, then, is again built upon the *sequence* merely. He goes on:

"Als Göttin aber *scheint*[1] ^{dingir}GUR[1] nicht die Aussprache GUR gehabt zu haben, sondern Ba'u ....das geht aus folgenden....Gründen hervor:

"1. Die Göttin Ba-u heisst in den Gudea-Inschriften stets 'Tochter des Himmels,' ist also eine Schwester, resp. (was in der babylonischen Mythologie oft dasselbe ist) Gemahlin des Gottes Bel, demnach identisch mit der Göttin Nin-lilla oder der [1] ^{dingir}GUR,[1] welche letztere ja Mutter des Gottes Ea heisst."

Ba-u is the wife of Bel, hence the same as Nin-lil or ^{dingir}GUR, who is the mother Ea. Hommel wishes to prove that Ba-u = ^{dingir}GUR, but takes it for granted that ^{dingir}GUR is = Nin-lil, without any arguments of his,—a fair exhibition of Hommel's argumentation! He continues:

"2. In einer Zauberformel (4 R 29, No 4) ist die [1] ^{dingir}GUR [1] die Helferin der Kranken, besonders solcher an Augenweh leidenden....in einem ähnlichen ....Text, K 2378 + 224, wird sie unmittelbar nach der Göttin Nin-agha-kuddu (der Schwester Ea's) erwähnt als 'Herrin der reinen Gewässer,' nin a-gub-ba íl-la. Auch die Ba-u wird (in H., K. T. 11. xxvi) gegen Kopf-, Herz-, und Augenweh zugleich mit Nin-agha-kuddu und Gula angerufen."

^{dingir}GUR and Ba-u are invoked in case of sickness: especially when the eyes are diseased, twice they are coupled together with Nin-agha-kuddu,—hence ^{dingir}GUR = Ba-u,—a strong argument, indeed! For the same reason Hommel might have argued that Gula, a later name for Ba-u, is = Nin-agha-kuddu = ^{dingir}GUR,—for he might have substituted for Ba-u the Gu-la! By such argumentations we can prove *nothing, absolutely nothing, and everything!*

"3. Die [1] ^{dingir}GUR [1] trägt den Beinamen 'mit reinen (azagga) Händen'; die speciell der Ba-u heilige Stadt ist URU [1]-azagga, d. i., 'reine Stadt' (wol gleich Nipur)."

Because the word "azagga, pure," occurs in connection with "hands" in case of ^{dingir}GUR and in connection with URU or "city" in case of Ba-u,—hence ^{dingir}GUR = Ba-u! Further comment is unnecessary. Uru-azagga is not Nippur, but a suburb of Shirpurla.

[1] Given in cuneiform signs.

"4. Das Ideogramm GUR[1] wird von den babylonischen Gelehrten ausdrücklich als 'Himmel' (ziku = shamû) erklärt (2 R. 50, 27), und die Ba-u heisst stets (siehe schon oben unter No. 1) 'Tochter des Himmels.'"

The sign GUR (notice, not ^{dingir}GUR) is = heaven, Ba-u is = daughter of heaven, hence GUR = Ba-u or heaven = daughter of heaven! And I may add ^{dingir}GUR = ^{god} of heaven = heaven = daughter of heaven, one follows from the other! The heaven becomes his own daughter! Splendid argumentation!

"5. Wie es einen Gott $^{1\ dingir}$EN-GUR^{1} (= Ea, dann als Sohn der $^{1\ dingir}$GUR,[1] urspr. aber wol = Bel) gibt (Jens. Kosmol., S. 245), so gab es auch einen Gott $^{1\ dingir}$EN^{1}-Ba-u [here Hommel refers to a note: vgl. auch 3 R. 67, 57....$^{1\ dingir}$GUR^{1}-ra, NIN-^{1}GUR^{1}-ra, woraus zugleich hervorgeht, dass man später allerdings $^{1\ dingir}$GUR^{1} Gurra las, was aber natürlich für die alte Zeit nichts beweist] Urspr., S. 19, Anm. 1). Wie es einen altbabylonischen Königsnamen Ur-$^{1\ dingir}$GUR^{1} gab,....so gab es auch.... einen Ur-$^{dingir\ 1}$Ba-u."

The nonsense that follows is too great to be reproduced here, and has, I suppose, been given up by Hommel himself. His argument is this: GUR = Ba-u (which he wants to prove, mark ye!), "Gleiches zu Gleichem zugesetzt giebt Gleiches, und Gleiches von Gleichem abgezogen giebt Gleiches." If we add to GUR and Ba-u a ^{dingir}EN we get the same, and if we abstract from ^{dingir}EN-GUR and ^{dingir}EN-Ba-u, a ^{dingir}EN we get again the same—but this presupposes that GUR is already = Ba-u, which Hommel wishes to prove by this No. 5!

"6. $^{1\ dingir}$GUR^{1} ist bei den Aegyptern die Morgendämmerung (siehe unten) wie bei den Babyloniern die Bau-u (3 R. 55, 49b)."

Here Hommel takes something as *proven*, which he has not yet proved!

"7. Endlich wird die Göttin $^{1\ dinger}$GUR^{1}....in späterer Zeit in ganz gleicher Weise zur Gemahlin Nirgal's (4 R. 3⅔, col. 3, 30; vgl. 2, 46, die Gula als Gemahlin Nindar's) wie andererseits . . . die Ba-u, zur Gemahlin des Ningirsu (= Nirgal) wird (Statue G. 2. 6), während doch sonst die Göttin $^{1\ dingir}$Ninâ^{1} (Ghanna) die Schwester (Gudea, Cyl. A. 5, 17) und Gemahlin des Ningirsu-Nirgal ist."

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[1] Given in cuneiform signs.

Hommel presupposes or takes for granted without any further argument of his that Ningirsu is = Nirgal. He first must prove this, then we shall want to answer him. Jensen, e. g., takes Ningirsu to be = Ninib, see K. B. III[1]. p. 23, note *†. We do not know as yet who this Ningirsu is! But see below!

The best, however, follows:

"Aus all diesen Anführungen," says Hommel, "*geht hervor*,"[1] dass [2]dingir GUR[2] and [2]dingir[2] Ba-u *reine Synonyma*[1] sind, *ganz dieselbe Göttin von Haus aus bezeichnen*,[1] und dass *höchst wahrscheinlich*[1] auch die gewöhnliche Aussprache von [2]dingir GUR[2] Ba-u war, während die andere Aussprache gur offenbar nur dem unpersonificirten mythologischen Begriff GUR[1] (ohne Gottheitsdeterminativ) eignete. Ich habe dies deshalb so ausführlich und eingehend hier BEWIESEN,[1] weil in einem viel citirten Buche die betreffende Identification eine 'auch jeglicher Begründung entbehrende' genannt worden ist (Jensen, *Kosmologie*, S. 245)."

And I have taken this trouble to present to the public the splendid PROOFS of Professor Hommel, to show what nonsense they are. I do not possess Jensen's *Kosmologie*, nor is it accessible to me, hence do not know what arguments Jensen adduces to disprove Hommel. But arguments are not necessary at all to disprove the *above*-given "reasons": every man with a little common sense will see instantly that they are nonsensical. To quote Hommel[3] again:

"Wer so einen Unsinn denken, schreiben und schliesslich drucken lassen kann, der hat überhaupt den Anspruch ernst genommen zu werden verwirkt."

All seven "reasons" of Hommel are built upon the sequence of Anu, Bêl, Ea, which suffices to *prove* for him that *Ea was the son of Bêl*, and because Ea was also the son of dingir GUR he follows, that dingir GUR must have been the wife of Bêl, and thus the same as dingir Ba-u!

The only passage in the old Babylonian inscriptions, where the sequence Anu, Bêl, Ea may be found is that of Gudea, Statue B. Col. VIII. 45 ff.: An-e dingir En-lil-li, dingir Nin-char-sag dingir EN-KI. And here Ea or dingir EN-KI is divided from Bêl or dingir En-lil by the wife of the latter! In all the other oldest inscriptions the

[1] Italics and capitals are mine. [2] Given in cuneiform signs.

[3] Hommel, *Die Südarabischen Alterthümer des Wiener Hofmuseums*, p. 12 = *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen*, II. p. 140.

sequence of the gods seems to be without any special order, as one can easily convince himself, by examining the inscriptions with regard to this point. Furthermore the celebrated trilingual list of gods,[1] written in EME-SAL, Sumerian, and Semitic Babylonian, does NOT give the names of the gods in the sequence An, Bêl, Ea—which it would have undoubtedly done, if Ea had been the son of Bel, as Hommel supposes—but in the order Anu,[2] Ea, Bel. The same arrangement, viz.: Anu, Ea, Bel is found again in IV. R. 1, 61c ff. Hence, the sequence Anu, Bel, Ea would not prove anything at all. And if it does not, then is Hommel's statement, to say the least, nonsense, that it is "nach der stereotypen Folge Anu, Bel, Ea, *mehr als wahrscheinlich*, dass sie (the Babylonians) auch den Ea als Sohn Bel's betrachteten und dass in der Reihe Anum, Bel, Ea, Merodach, die älteste babylonische Göttergenealogie vorliegt." And if the sequence Anu, Bel, Ea does not prove anything, then it also follows that ^{dingir}GUR is not proven to be the wife of Bel or = Ba-u! The other seven arguments or "reasons" (Gründe) of Hommel are so foolish as to require no further refutation.

But who then was ^{dingir}GUR? In order to answer this question it is necessary to inquire into the meaning of god AN and god KI!

The sign AN is translated in Semitic Babylonian generally by shamû, i. e., "heaven," and the sign KI generally by irtsitu, i. e., "earth." Both signs occur very often together in the attributes of En-lil (lugal-an-ki[3]) and Nin-char-sag (nin-an-ki[3]), where they no doubt stand for "heaven and earth." That the original meaning of AN was not so much "heaven" and that of KI not so much "earth" is evident from the following considerations:

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[1] II. R. 59 (see Hommel, S. L. p. 46).

[2] Anu is called in the EME-SAL column = dim-me-ir; in the Sumerian: AN; and in the Semitic: i[-lum], i. e., the god *κατ' ἐξοχήν*. From this it would follow that the writing AN-E might also be read dingir-e, and that of AN-tum = il-tum, and lastly that of NI-NI-tum = ì-lì-tum, but in every case it would signify either the "god" or the "goddess" *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, i. e., Anu and his wife Annat.

[3] See above, p. 19, 4. 5. 6.

(1) "Heaven" in Sumerian means GISH and in EME-SAL: mu.[1]

(2) In the expression AN-ta = elish and KI-ta = shaplish, the AN stands simply for "that which is above" and the KI for "that which is below." Thus it happened that Jensen explained the name dingir EN-KI by "Herr, dessen was unten ist" = Ea.[2] If this explanation be correct, it would follow from the analogy of the case that the name AN or EN-AN[3] would have to be translated by "he who is above" or by "lord of that which is above."

This idea of "being above" and "being below" is no doubt the original one, and because "that which is above" was considered to be the heaven thus it came in course of time that AN stood for heaven, and KI "being that which is below" came to mean "earth."

3. En-lil, we have seen, was in later inscriptions also called E-KUR-dumu-nunna, i. e., E-KUR,[4] the son of *Nunna*. If this be true, then AN, the father of Bêl (see above: Bêl mâr rêshtû shamê) must also *have been*, or been called, a NUN!

4. But dingir EN-KI or Mr. KI was *also* called NUN as is apparent from the name of his wife dingir Dam-gal-nun-na, "the great wife of NUN." What this NUN means we know; it is the zu-ab or apsû, the ocean.

Thus we see instantly that AN was "the upper ocean" and KI the "lower ocean," or "*the heavenly ocean*" and "*the terrestrial ocean*," or as the Bible calls it, "the waters above the firmament" and "the waters below the firmament." This specific meaning of god AN and god KI has been recognised already by other scholars, even by Hommel, although I do not know what arguments he employed.

Having thus established the *original* meaning of the words AN and KI respectively, we may turn to the relationship of AN and

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[1] Trilingual list of gods, II. R. 59, col. II. l. 47.

[2] K. B. III[1]. p. 21, note †.

[3] Comp. the proper name EN-AN-NA-tum and see above, p. 24, 6.

[4] E-KUR is originally the name of the *temple* of En-lil at Nippur.

KI, i. e., inquire whether god KI was the son of En-lil and thus the grandson of ^{god}AN, or whether he was something else.

In Assyrian we have a word achu which means "brother" and also "side." If this very same word is written achû (contracted out of achâiu) it means "enemy." Both words no doubt go back to the same root. But how then could the word achu possibly get the meaning "enemy" and be written achû? My explanation is this:

Achû, or achâiu, literally means: "he who or that which belongs to the brother," comp. Nippurû out of Nippurâiu, "he who belongs to Nippur," i. e., "a Nippurian." But "a brother" is in *every case* "the other," i. e., the "one who is not the *ego*," "who is in opposition to the ego," "who is opposed to the ego," and the one that is opposed to my ego is "my brother" and "my enemy!" If a person or a god is called "AN," then he who is his achu *had* to be called "KI" and as such he is "*in opposition to*" (an achû!) to the AN. If AN means the "*heavenly* ocean" and KI the "*terrestrial* ocean," we have here an achu in so far as they are both an ocean, hence also of the same *stock* or *parents*, but also an achû in so far as the KI is opposed to the AN, "the *terrestrial* ocean" to "the *heavenly* ocean." Comp. here also AN-SAR and KI-SAR; as SAR they are achu, as AN and KI they are achû![1]

And now, if ^{dingir}GUR is called the mother of god Ea or En-ki, it follows, because EN-KI is the achu and achû of god AN, that ^{dingir}GUR *must* be the mother of ^{god}AN too. AN and KI being the "heavenly and the terrestrial ocean," ^{dingir}GUR can only be the "primeval ocean." And it is more than mere accident that we should have handed down to us the following three writings of this

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[1] See also Winckler, who has partly anticipated me here,—although his investigations are in quite another field,—who says in M. V. A. G. 1901, 4, part 1, p. 15, note 1, which has just come to hand: "Mythologisch—und damit im Zusammenhang der ganzen Weltauffassung—erscheint das Brudermotiv—wie alle—also in den zwei Gegensätzen, denn jedes Ding schlägt schliesslich in sein Gegentheil um, wie es der *Kreislauf* der Natur vorschreibt und bedingt. Wir haben die unzertrennlichen und doch getrennten Brüder: Dioskuren, Mond und Sonne = Nacht und Tag = Licht und Finsterniss = Winter und Sommer, die beiden Sonnen—und Naturhälften. Diese sind die *feindlichen* Brüder, deren einer den anderen tötet: Eteokles und Polyneikes, Baldr-Hödur (dessen Blindheit *Mond*motiv ist.)

deity: dingir GUR, dingir EN-GUR, dingir NIN-GUR. The last two stand for Mr. and Mrs. GUR, i. e., for apsû and tiâmat, for תהום and מים, or for חשך and רוח אלהים respectively. dingir GUR on the other hand signifies only god GUR, without laying special emphasis upon the male or female part, or *husband* and *wife*. dingir GUR thus becomes "the *primeval ocean*, κατ' ἐξοχήμ," and is as such *older* than NIN-GUR or EN-GUR. This also proves that we had originally only a god KI,[1]—and because the heavenly is only a reflex of the earthly, this god KI became a wife: a NIN-KI, "Mrs. KI"; and in order to distinguish the wife from the husband, or better, in order to avoid *misunderstanding*, the husband was called EN-KI, Mr. KI; for dingir KI alone, if used also of Mr. KI, would leave it doubtful whether god KI as a *whole*—male and female—were meant, or whether it stood for EN-KI only.

Furthermore, if dingir GUR (notice not dingir NIN-GUR, as we might expect) is called the *mother* of EN-KI, we may see in this a striking parallel to the Babylonian creation story as well as to the Biblical,—according to both the heavenly and terrestrial ocean take their origin from the tiâmat or tehom, i. e., the *descent was reckoned through the mother*.[2]

Tehom and tiâmat even in later times are used for "*ocean*" without any special reference to a mythological being as consisting of two genders: the male and female gender; so GUR may have been primarily the *ocean* and only in later times acquired this mythological conception of being male and female, thus able to generate and perpetuate itself. However this may have been, all suggestions that might be made here are at the very best only guesses. May it suffice therefore to have shown that dingir GUR was the primeval ocean who *brought forth* by process of *generation* —notice *generation*—two sons: AN and KI, who later on were together with GUR thought to be male and female, and thus able to perpetuate their own lines respectively. Having made this probable, we can now explain the succession: Anu, Bêl, Ea as well as Anu, Ea, Bêl. In this latter sequence the two brothers are men-

[1] See above pp. 13, 9; 15 ff.

[2] See above p. 9.

tioned first, then follows Bêl as the son of Anu. In the former sequence we have the father Anu together with his son Bêl, and Ea is the ʿam, the *father's brother*, who plays such an important rôle in old Arabic inscriptions that even the word itself became a god, —the god ʿAm.[1] Anu, Bêl, Ea, is thus proven to be what the Arabs call a raḥṭ, i. e., a community consisting of a head or "abu" = Anu, of an ʿam = Ea, and of a nephew = Bel,[2] who form the first triad in the Babylonian pantheon as well as in the Assyrian, which triad, as we have seen, goes back to the Sumerian conception of the theogony and cosmogony.

As AN, originally the "heavenly ocean," became in later times the shamû or "heaven," thus KI, originally the "terrestrial ocean" became later on the irtsitu or "earth." We would expect that AN and KI became in consequence of this also the "god of heaven" and "the god of earth" respectively. But this is not the case. The "god of heaven and earth" was Bêl, for he is repeatedly called the "lugal-an-ki, "the king of heaven and earth." "Heaven and earth" were thus considered to be closely connected, yes, to be *one*, and what this *one* thing was called, we shall see, when we come to speak of dingir En-lil.

And if "heaven and earth" were considered to be one, it is, of course, natural, that we should not find a god in this Sumerian theogony who is called LUGAL-KI, shar irtsiti "the king of the earth." Hence, there does not seem to have existed at the time of the Sumerians a so-called "baʿal of the soil," who plays such an important rôle among the Semitic peoples.

The god KI had sons and daughters, all of whom we have met already above. It only remains here to explain their names. The sign by which Ninâ is expressed is composed of ESH or AB = "abode," with inserted CHA or "fish." Signs, when inserted into another sign, may be either an indicator of the pronunciation or an indicator of the sense. The latter I take to be the case here.

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[1] See Hommel, *Die südarabischen Alterthümer des Wiener Hofmuseums*, München, 1899, p. 28 ff.

[2] See also Proksch, *Die Blutrache bei den alten Arabern*, p. 23, and Winckler, *M. V. A. G.*, 1901, 4, p. 16.

The sign "fish" may either stand for "fish" itself, or for "plenty." Ninâ then would be either a fishgoddess, or a goddess of plenty. The goddess Nidaba[1] "was the goddess of grain," as even the Ideogram indicates it.[2] ^{dingir}Dûmu-zi because = ^{ilu}Du-'-u-zu, and because to him was dedicated originally the sixth and in later times the fourth month called SHU-KUL-NA or "month of sowing" must have been "the god of verdure."[3]

According to the analogy we should expect for Ninâ's husband also some such signification as "verdure," or "fishes," or "plenty," or "grain;" this however cannot be made out as yet. It may not be impossible that the name ^{dingir}Nin-dub, because dub means "clay," then "clay tablet," may make that god to have been originally "the god of the clayground." However this may have been, the significations of the names of Ninâ, Dumu-zi, Nidaba, suffice to show us that we have to see in them the gods of either "what the earth produces" or "what the sea produces." If this be true then it follows that the ^{dingir}EN-KI, the "terrestrial ocean," was thought to contain the *earth also*, i. e., he was "the waters which contained the dry ground," or else he could not have produced sons or daughters who are the gods of "the *produce of the earth*".' As already said above, the Sumerians do not seem to have had "a god of the dry land or soil "κατ' ἐξοχήν."

What may possibly be the reason for this phenomenon? We know from the Gilgamesh epic—and our present investigation confirms it, as we shall see—that Eridu or NUN-^{ki}, the city of Ea or EN-KI was one of the oldest cities of Babylonia, from which practically the whole of the specific Babylonian religion took its origin. Eridu, when the Gilgamesh epic was written, was a seaport town on the Persian Gulf, while to-day it is one hundred and thirty miles

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[1] For references see E. B. H. Index, gods, p. 444, sub. N.

[2] See Br. 7453, and comp. Trilingual list of gods, 2 R 59, I. 24, where she is called the "wife of ^{dingir}Lugal-ki-sá(di)-a."

[3] In the sixth month the festival of "the dying of the verdure," while in the fourth month that of "the new life of the verdure" was celebrated. The former was the festival of the wailing for Tammuz, the latter that of his resurrection. See also Dr. Carus, *The Monist*, July, 1901, pp. 528 ff.

from the coast line. Here the Sumerians of old saw how new earth or dry land was added year by year to the already existing dry ground. Hence it was quite natural for them to think that "the earth was contained in the terrestrial ocean." But water is also necessary for vegetation! Hence also, vegetation, verdure of the dry ground, were made to be children of dingir EN-KI. In the ocean are also fishes, etc., and thus Ninâ the fishgoddess became of necessity his child. Thus we would expect "the ba'al of the soil" to be a son of EN-KI. It may very well be possible that future investigations will shed light upon this question. At the present it will be best not to put too great an emphasis upon this omission, for any of the gods not yet identified may become in future times "a god of the soil."[1]

The firstborn of EN-LIL or Bêl is the god ZU, i. e., dingir EN-ZU or also called dingir Uru-ki. This latter is translated into the Semitic-Babylonian by Nannar,[2] i. e., "the luminary." The "na-an-na-ri shame-e ù irtsitim," or "the luminary of heaven and earth,"[3] was god Sin. And "Sin" translates the Sumerian EN-ZU. In the Monolith Inscription of Shalmaneser II.[4] we have a god called "ilu Na-nir shame-e irtsi-tim," i. e., "the god the luminary[5] of heaven and earth." Hence there can be no doubt that EN-ZU is = Uru-ki = Sin = Nannar = Moon. What the name ZU means we cannot tell. It is explained in the syllabaries by "to know," "to be wise," "to learn," "to understand," etc., etc.

It may be probable that Gudea[6] of old was obliged to confess of Sin: dingir En-zu mu-ni galu-nu-gab-ne: "Sin—his name no man has ever disclosed, understood, explained," because he—Sin—treading his quiet path for all those ages past acquired in course of time a wisdom and knowledge so great that they cannot be

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[1] Does perhaps the dingir Dun-gur-(an) belong here, who is called the dingir En-temen-[an] (E. B. H. p. 118, note 1)? The temen-an, the "foundation of heaven," would be the "*earth*." But a ba'al of the soil is quite different from a ba'al of the earth. See however below!

[2] IV. R. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$–$\frac{17}{18}$a. [3] V. R. 64, 18. [4] III. R. 7, col. I. 2.

[5] "Die göttliche Leuchte," or "der göttliche Leuchter."

[6] Gudea, Statue B. VIII. 49 (K. B. III[1]. p. 46).

disclosed, for he saw many things which nobody else has seen and heard many things which no man ever could have heard—in short "Sin was the god who not only could not be disclosed, or understood, but who also did not disclose, open, betray anything himself."

This god "who passes our understanding" had two children, UD and dingir Innanna. The god UD "the bright, or shining one," is called in the oldest inscriptions, "the king filled with splendor,"[1] and is identified in the later inscriptions with the god Shamash or "the sun." His sister or wife—for that is the same in the oldest inscriptions[2]—is the "goddess of Innanna." What the Innanna was we cannot tell as yet. She was later on identified with the "evening star" as well as with "the morning star," the former being the precursor of the moon, the latter that of the sun. As "morning star," which leads the king out to battle, she was considered in later times to be a male god, but retained her feminine name and was called either Ishtar or A-nu-ni-tum bêlit tachâzi.[3]

This latter title she had already in the oldest inscription, where she is called "nin mè,"[4] i. e., mistress of battle—hence *feminine!* It may not be impossible that even in the oldest time dingir Innanna was assigned to both functions, viz., to that of "the evening star," thus becoming "the goddess of love," and to that of "the morning star," as such being called the mistress of battle. The Innanna then would express the function common to both: the morning and the evening star. This function in every case must be a double one: the morning star announces the end of the night but also the beginning of the day; the evening star in like manner shows that

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[1] See, e. g., Gudea, Statue B VIII 63 (K B III[1] p 46) lugal-zal-sig-ga E B. H. p. 76 *et passim*.

[2] See above Enlil and Ba-u—both "the firstborn of An," hence brother and sister, but also husband and wife.

[3] A good example of this may be found in Nabû-nâ id, Thoncylinder aus Sippar, A.-W. *Keilschrifttexte*, p 42, col. III 1 23 ff., where A-nu-ni-tum is treated both as a masculine and a feminine deity.

[4] Gudea, Statue B. VIII. 61 (K. B. III[1]. p. 46).

the day is at its close and that the night is beginning.[1] The god Nin-Gir-su, the city-god of Girsu, whose real name we do not know as yet, was, as we have seen, a son of dingir En-lil, hence, a brother of god ZU, i. e., Sin or the moon, hence also, the ʿam, the "father's brother" of UD.

Who is this Nin-Gir-su?

Hommel[2] identified him with Nergal. Jensen,[3] with Ninib, the god of war. In another place[4] he reaches the same conclusion by the following consideration: The temple which Ur-Ba-u and Gudea built for Nin-Gir-su was called E-ninnû, i. e., the temple of the number fifty, and ninnû is again = Ninib.[5] This E-ninnû was also called E dingir Im-gig-ghu-bar-bar. From this Jensen concludes (*l. c.*): "dingir Im- etc. ist eine Erweiterung des Namens. Die Gruppe ist zu deuten: (des Gottes) welcher den finstern (gig) Himmel (im) erhellen (bar-bar) möge (ghu), und spielt auf Ninib als die Frühsonne an." This explanation was also accepted by me in my E. B. H[6].

Thureau-Dangin,[7] on the other hand, separated the latter name into dingir Im-gig-ghu and bar-bar, i. e., "the divine bird Im-gig" and "bright," the bird he identified with the eagle, the well-known emblem of Shir-pur-la—Girsu, referring at the same time to M. Heuzey, *Origines orientales*, p. 41, where an imprint of a seal-cylinder is published which is said to contain a representation of Nin-Girsu as described by Gudea in his celebrated dream. On account of the importance of the passage in Gudea's dream it might seem well to examine it more closely.

Gudea has a dream[8] in which appears to him a "man." The description of this "man" is given in all its details. Gudea does not know this "man" who had commanded him to build the temple

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[1] See the sign SUCH (= Innanna) V. R. 44, l. 14. 15, and H. W. B. p. 541 sub. פרכה IV. 1.

[2] Identität, etc., p. 222. See above, p. 30 sub 7.

[3] K. B. III[1]. p. 19, note **, where he quotes II. R, 57, 74.

[4] K. B. III[1]. p. 23, note *†. [5] V. R. 37, 18.

[6] See p. 182, note 1; p. 185, note 10. [7] Z. A. XV. p. 52.

[8] Zimmern, Z. A. III. 232–235. E. B. H. p. 189. Thureau-Dangin, Z. A. XV. p. 50. *Songe de Goudéa*, C. R., 1901, p. 112.

E-ninnû. He therefore addresses goddess Ninâ for an explanation of the dream, and she informs him that that man was her brother "Nin-Girsu."

The description which Gudea gives of "the man," reads[1]:

14. shag ma-mu-da-ka (ga)lu-I-a-an an-gim RI-BA-ni
15. ki-gim RI-BA-ni
16. A-NE sag-ga-ni-ku dingir-ra-an
17. id-ni-ku ^{dingir}Im-gig-ghu dam
18. sig-ba-ni-a-ku A-MA-SHUB-kam
19. zi-da gub-na UG ni-nad-nad
20. e-a-ni ru-da ma-an-dug
21. shag-ga-ni nu-mu-zu[2]

Which might be translated:[3]

14. In the midst of my dream (behold) A man—like the heavens his RI-BA
15. like the earth his RI-BA—
16. A-NE above him—surely a god!
17. At his sides there was ^{dingir}Im-gig-ghu,
18. At whose feet there was an A-MA-SHUB
19. At the right and his left an UG was couched
20. His house to build he commanded me
21. Him (lit. his heart) I did not know.

The goddess Ninâ, when explaining to Nin-Gir-su the meaning of this dream, uses the following words[4]:

13. (ga)lu an-gim RI-BA ki-gim RI-BA-ku
14. sag-ga-ku dingir id-ni-ku
15. ^{dingir}Im-gig-ghu-ku sig-ba-a-ni-ku A-MA-SHUB-ku

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[1] See especially Thureau-Dangin, Z. A. XV. 51.

[2] Gudea, Cyl. A. IV. 14–21.

[3] Thureau-Dangin, *l. c.*, and *Songe de Goudéa*, p. 119, translates:

"Au milieu de (mon) songe, un homme grand comme (so no doubt better than the 'dont la taille égalait' in Z. A.) le ciel.
Grand comme (Z. A.: dont la taille égalait) la terre
Sur la tête de qui était une *tiare* (Z. A. . . . for tiare) divine
À côté de qui était l'oiseau divin IM-GIG
Aux pieds de qui était un ouragan
À la droite et à la gauche de qui un lion était couché
M'a ordonné de construire sa maison:
Je ne l'ai pas reconnu."

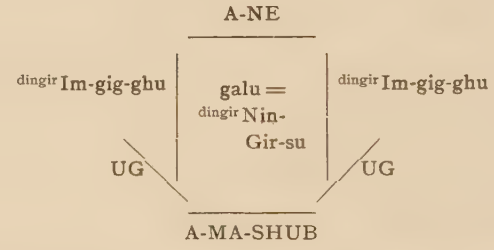
[4] Cyl. A. V. 13–18.

16. zi-da gub-na UG ni-nad-[1]nad-[1]a
17. shesh-mu dingir Nin-Gir-su ga-nam me-a-an
18. esh E-ninnû na-ru-ba za-ra ma-ra-an-dug.

Which when translated would read :[2]

13. The man : like the heavens in RI-BA like the earth in RI-BA
14. With that head—the god—at his sides
15. with a dingir Im-gig-ghu, at his feet with an A-MA-SHUB—
16. at the right and his left an UG being couched—
17. my brother dingir Nin-Gir-su surely is he,
18. the house E-ninnû to build he has commanded thee.

If we would draw a picture of the "man" Nin-Gir-su, we would have to do it as follows:



Intentionally some words were left untranslated above, because on the right interpretation of them depends everything.

A-MA-SHUB is, as Thureau-Dangin[3] has shown, the Semitic-Babylonian a-bu-bu, "stormflood."

dingir Im-gig-ghu, if translated word for word, would mean : god cloud, dark or black, bird or flying.

The two words suffice to show us that "the man" or Nin-Gir-su when appearing to Gudea was upon a "stormflood" and surrounded by "flying dark clouds." If bar-bar be added to E-dingir Im-

[1] The inscription gives SÀ-SÀ, which, no doubt, is a mistake for NAD-NAD, as is apparent from above, col. IV. 19.

[2] Thureau-Dangin, *Songe*, p. 120, translates :

13. l'homme grand comme le ciel, grand comme la terre
14. sur la tête de qui était (une *tiare*) divine, à côté de qui
15. était l'oiseau divin IM-GIG, aux pieds de qui était un ouragan
16. à droite et à gauche de qui un lion était couché
17. c'est mon frère, NIN-GIR-SU :
18. il t'ordonnait de construire sa demeure, l'E-ninnû

[3] Z. A. XV. 51, note 5.

gig-ghu, we get the name of the temple E-ninnû dedicated to Nin-Gir-su. And because the E-ninnû is called the temple of ^{DINGIR}Im-gig-ghu-bar-bar, it follows that the latter name was also a surname of Nin-Gir-su. From this it also follows that "the flying dark clouds" are or may become sometimes "very bright"!

The UG, which are at the left and the right side of "the man's" feet will and must signify a similar thing. Now, I do not think that Thureau-Dangin is right in translating UG by "lions," although UG may have that meaning. Thureau-Dangin[1] himself says: "Il est probable que UG-GAL est identique à UD-GAL." UD has also the reading UG! And UD or better UG-GAL is translated by úmu and means "storm" or "great wind."[2] UG alone would mean "wind" or "storm" too.[3] The A-NE at the head of this "man" might be taken either as the plural of A, i. e., "rain," "waters," or probably better as A + BIL, i. e., "water and fire." What this fire was we shall see directly.

The remaining RI-BA has been translated by Thureau-Dangin in his "*Songe de Goudéa*" quite correctly. It no doubt means that the man was as large or great as the heavens[4] and earth, extended over heaven and earth; his coursé[5] was so wide and so large that it went all over the heavens and the earth.

Thus the description might be interpreted as follows: There appeared a "man" to me who was as regards his size as large and extended as the heavens and earth. Rain and fire were above him! At the sight of which Gudea is completely awe-stricken and is forced to exclaim: Surely it is a god!—such impression this rain and fire made upon him. At his sides were, i. e., he was surrounded by "flying dark clouds" and was carried by a "stormflood." and

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[1] Z. A. XV. p. 49. [2] Delitzsch, H. W. B. p. 33.

[3] Cyl. A II. 9; Ur-sag ug zig-ga gab-shú-gar nu-tug ^{dingir}Nin-Gir-su, I would translate accordingly Oh warrior, Oh furious tempest, who has no rival, Oh Nin-Gir-su! etc. Comp. also Cyl. A IX. 21 (Nin-Girsu) ur-sag-gal ki-^{dingir}En lil lal-ka en gab-ri nu-tug, "the great hero in the domain of En-lil, the lord without equal."

[4] See also Cyl. A. VII. 4, 5, en-na shag an-gim sud-du-ni ^{dingir}Nin-Gir-su dumu ^{dingir}En-lil-lal, i. e., "the lord whose heart is as extended as the heavens Nin-Gir-su, son of En-lil."

[5] Ri-ba = rib-ba (Thureau-Dangin, l. c. p. 51, note 3) = אתך. H. W. B. p. 159.

at his feet there were two "storms" or "tempests." The only god whom such a description fits is of course *Rammân*. That this Nin-Gir-su cannot be any other but Rammân is corroborated by the following considerations:

1. Nin-Gir-su has a special servant: the god Nin-sar who is called the gir-lal ^{dingir}Nin-Gir-su-ka.[1] Gir is=birqu, "lightning," "thunderbolt," and lal=nashû, "to lift up, carry," or=shapâku, "to pour out." Nin-Gir-su thus is not only the god of rain and storm, but also the god of lightning, or else he could not have a "thunderbolt carrier," who occasionally may "pour out" the thunderbolts. In old Babylonian times there also existed a ^{dingir}Nin-Gir,[2] who, no doubt, is the same as the ^{dingir}Nin-sar, for Nin-Gir means the "lord of the Gir or thunderbolts." The GIR or "thunderbolt" is also contained in Nin-GIR-su as well as in GIR-su! Even the bar-bar of ^{dingir}Im-gig-ghu-bar-bar indicates the brightness and flashes of the lightning or thunderbolts.[3] This is also why I would read for A-NE = A-BIL.[4] Nin-Gir-su = Rammân appears unto Gudea in rain, storm, and fire, i. e., flashes of lightning.

2. The "dream" itself of Gudea speaks for our interpretation. The opening of Cylinder A describes the terrible drought of Girsu-Shirpurla, which can only come to an end by some pious deed of Gudea. And what is more natural for Gudea than to build a temple in honor of just the god of RAIN, storm, and lightning, that the drought might cease! And this god is Nin-Gir-su = ^{dingir}Im-gig-ghu-bar-bar = Rammân, who promises thereupon that the drought shall cease after the temple has been built.[5] (For ur-^{dingir}Nin-Gir-su = ikkaru see below, p. 66, note.)

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[1] Urakagina, Déc. XLIX. = E. B. H. p. 52, 23 (where we have to read for shag-lal = gir-lal as Déc. XLIX. clearly shows), so also E. B. H. p. 51 l. 14 ff. read: ^{dingir}Nin-sar gir-lal ^{dingir}Nin-su-gir-ra, and see already above, p. 23, 6.

[2] See the proper name Ur-^{dingir}Nin-gir, E. B. H. p. 413.

[3] See also Cyl. A. XI. 3, where E-ninnû is called ^{dingir}Im-gig-ghu an-sar-ra shegì-gì, "the Im-gig-ghu that flashes over the whole heaven," and comp. with this Thureau-Dangin, *Songe de Goudéa*, p. 14, note 1.

[4] Notice also that a *flame* (BIL) is Nin-Gir-su's sign. Cyl. A XII. 10.

[5] Thureau-Dangin, *Songe de Goudéa*, col. XI.! The rains will be announced by a wind, *ibid.*

3. If my interpretation be correct—and there can hardly be a doubt about its correctness—I would explain the dingir IM[1] the well-known ideogram for Rammân to be simply a further abbreviation of dingir Im-gig-ghu or dingir Im-gig-ghu-bar-bar respectively.

4. Now we also understand the so-called second triad of the Babylonian gods; they are ZU, UD, and X = Nin-Gir-su, or in Semitic: Sin, Shamash, and Rammân. This is the common sequence in which they occur. Sin is the head or abu,[2] Shamash his son, and Rammân is the 'am, the "father's brother." Here then we have the other raht! If the enumeration be: Sin, Rammân, Shamash,[3] it would be parallel to Anu, Ea, Bêl, i. e., the two brothers mentioned first, and then the son of the former.

The two triads of the Babylonian pantheon are two rahts and parallel to each other; they go back to the oldest times of the Babylonian history—another proof for the great age of the Sumerian civilisation!

dingir Ba-u, the wife of dingir Nin-Gir-su, had seven sons,[4] who were at the same time the "banda" of Nin-Gir-su.[5] What these "seven sons" stood for, is hard to tell. Three possibilities might be taken into consideration:

(1) They represent the seven planets.[6]

(2) The seven Igigi, or spirits of heaven.

(3) The seven winds or evil spirits, who are closely connected with Rammân.[7]

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[1] For references see E. B. H., Index, Gods, p. 443 sub I.

[2] This fact explains why Sin is called in the celebrated Moon-hymn (IV. R. 9) abu. He is the head, for this means "abu" here, of the raht The abu = father (of the gods) is En-lil, as was seen above. See also Winckler, M V A. G., 1901, 4, p. 20. In later inscriptions the following gods are called abu ilâni; Bêl, Ashur Anu, Ea and Sin. See H. W. B. sub. abu, p. 3.

[3] As e. g. in the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser II. ll. 6, 7.

[4] See above, p. 23, note 6. [5] Gudea, Cyl. B. XI. 4–12.

[6] That the Babylonians knew also of *seven* planets besides sun and moon, and not, as Winckler thinks, *always* of five only (with sun and moon = seven), is evident from the figures of the Kudurru of Nabû-shum-ishkun, now in the Berlin Museum. There we have "the sun," "the moon," "the morning star," and "the *seven* planets."

[7] See, e. g., IV. R. 5, 29 ff., Delitzsch, H. W. B. p. 33 sub. ûmu, and Winckler, *Der Alte Orient*, III. p. 95.

I myself would rather see in them the seven winds, cp. e. g., the name of the third son Ur-kalam-ta-ud-du-a, i. e., "the one who (a) goeth forth (ud-du) out of (ta) the foundation (ur = ishdu) of the earth (kalam), as such he, no doubt, is the same as the Gim-nun-ta-ud-du-a, "the one who goeth forth out of the abode or building (GIM) of the NUN (or ocean)," mentioned already by king Uru-ka-gi-na at about 4500 B. C.[1] Both would signify the "*east*-wind," as coming from the Persian Gulf. Nin-sar, too, would speak for the winds, storms, lightnings, that accompany Rammân. By Urukagina are also mentioned the Za-za-ru[2] or first son, the Im-pa-ud-du[3] or second son,[4] and the Nin-sar. This latter I take to be not only the same as the dingir Nin-gir but also as the dingir GHE (or GAN)-gir-nun-na—the one is the gir-lal, "thunderbolt carrier," the other is the "lord of the thunderbolt," and the third has at least something to do with the GIR as the name Ghe (or Gan)-GIR-nun-na indicates.[5] The fifth son Ghe (or GAN)-shag-ga probably is identical again with the Dun-shag-ga, who, as we have seen, is called "a son of Nin-Gir-su."[6] Ka-úr-mu, the sixth, and Za-ar-mu, the seventh son, are known to me only from this passage.

The dingir Gàl-alim, from whom Gudea receives "dominion and a great scepter,"[7] and who, as we have seen, is also a son of Nin-Gir-su, I would like to identify with Nin-sar the gir-lal of Nin-Gir-su. Gudea, no doubt, wants to say by this, that he has received a scepter like that of Nin-sar, i. e., "a thunderbolt," by means of which he was able to *reign* and put down, if necessary, his enemies.

That some of the sons of dingir Ba-u are mentioned already by

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[1] E. B. H. p. 54. [2] E. B. H. p. 53. [3] E. B. H. p. 53.

[4] Is this Im-pa-ud-du perhaps identical with the Dun-pa-ud-da, E. B. H. p. 312, 314_2? See also Gin-dingir Dun-pa-ud-du and Ur-dingir Dun-pa-ud-du.

[5] The name of this god is also found in a shortened form, see E. B. H. p. 52, 27, where we have to read according to Déc. XLIX. [dingir GH]e (or[GA]N)-gir ki-ag dingir Nin-Gir-su-ka-ra.

[6] E. B. H. pp. 195, 196.

[7] Gudea, Statue B. II. 18, 19: nam-ner-gàl pa-magh sum-ma dingir Gàl-alim-ka-ge (K. B. III^1. p. 28).

Uru-ka-gi-na,[1] shows that the whole system of the Babylonian theogony was fully developed as early as 4500 B. C.

This Nin-Gir-su, this god of lightning, thunder, rain, and storm, was "the warrior," or "mighty hero"[2] of Bêl or En-lil. En-lil has indeed a strong hero! From this follows, that whenever Bêl appears, he is accompanied by Nin-Gir-su, i. e., Bêl appears in company with lightning, thunder, and clouds. And who does not think instantly of the יהוה of the Old Testament who too appears in company of such an "ur-sag lig-ga?" Exod. xiv. 19 ff. we read (R. V.):

"And the *angel of God*, which went before the camp of Israel, removed and went behind them: and *the pillar of cloud* removed from before them and stood behind them: and it came between the camp of Egypt and the camp of Israel: and there was the *cloud* and the *darkness*, yet gave it *light* by night."

Can we possibly have a more striking parallel to the dingir Nin-Gir-su ur-sag lig-ga dingir En-lil? The *ur-sag* or "warrior" corresponds to "*the angel*." Nin-Gir-su is the ur-sag of *En-lil*, and here we have the "angel of *God*," i. e., יהוה! But "the angel" appears here under a *cloud*. Nin-Gir-su is called dingir Im, i. e., "*the cloud*." The "cloud REMOVED from before them and stood behind them." dingir Nin-Gir-su is called "the *flying* Im-gig." This cloud was *darkness* and *light*, Nin-gir-su is called dingir Im-gig-ghu-bar-bar, i. e., "*dark cloud* flying, flashing up, or *very bright*." Hence there cannot be any doubt that "the angel of God" is the ur-sag of יהוה and thus a striking parallel to the old dingir Nin-Gir-su. But from this it also follows that יהוה himself is *no storm-god* as Stade[3] and Winckler[4] think, but the *storm-god* is "the angel" or the *ur-sag*, i. e., Nin-Gir-su, who accompanies En-lil or יהוה. En-lil or יהוה is the Bêl, "the Lord" κατ' ἐξοχήν must therefore necessarily be accompanied by his special "ur-sag" or "angel" and this is "the thundering and lightning dark cloud," hence יהוה is usually represented

[1] Were it not for the fact that the "barrel-cylinder" is broken, we might have found mentioned on it all seven sons.

[2] The ur-sag, or ur-sag lig-ga, see above, pp. 23, 12.

[3] *Geschichte des Volkes Israels*, Vol. I., 429 ff.

[4] *Geschichte Israels*, Vol. I., p. 37 ff.

as coming in the company of just such a cloud.[1] En-lil as "king of heaven and earth" and "king of the gods" speaks and acts only through his ur-sag, i. e., lit. translated "head-servant," "prime-minister,"[2] so יהוה "the lord of hosts" speaks also through HIS "head-servant" or "prime minister": the מלאך—and what this "prime minister" says or does, that says or does יהוה or En-lil. Hence we read Psalm xviii. 6 ff. (R. V.):

6. In my distress I called upon the Lord,
   And cried unto my God:
   He heard my voice out of his temple,
   And my cry before him came into his ears.[3]
7. Then the earth shook and trembled,
   The foundations also of the mountains moved
   And were shaken, because he was wroth.
8. There went up a smoke out of his nostrils,
   And fire out of his mouth devoured:
   Coals were kindled by it,
9. He bowed the heavens also and came down.[4]
   And[5] thick *darkness*[6] was under him,
10. And he rode upon a cherub, and did *fly*,[7]
    Yea, he *flew*[7] *swiftly* upon the *wings*[7] of the *wind*,[8]

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[1] See, e. g., Isaiah xix. 1 (swift cloud, R. V.); and the different passages about "the whirlwind." Compare also Acts xiv. 11, 12: Zeus and Hermes (= Barnabas and Paul).

[2] See here especially Gudea, Cyl. A. II. 11, 12:

dingir Nin-Gir-su zu-ab-a....
En-lil-ki-a (?) ner-gàl (?)

Which Thureau-Dangin translates (*Songe de Goudéa*, p. 116).

ô Nin-gir-su, toi qui dans l'abîme....
toi qui à Nippur es *au premier rang*.

Nippur is the city of *Enlil*, and there Nin-gir-su has "the premier rang," i. e., he is the ur-sag or מלאך, the "head-servant" or "prime-minister" of Bêl-Enlil.

[3] As soon as יהוה—En-lil hears the crying, he dispatches his "prime-minister," the ur-sag. The ur-sag, taking here the place of יהוה—En-lil, because he *acts for* him,—comes under thundering and lightning.

[4] The ur-sag, so far thundering above, approaches the earth.

[5] The ur-sag is upon the earth, the poet sees him and describes him,—like Gudea of old!

[6] Comp. the a-ma-shub or "storm flood," and the IM-GIG of Nin-Girsu.

[7] Comp. the GHU, "flying," in Gudea's Imgig-GHU.

[8] Comp. the UG, "storm," "tempest," which are at Nin-Girsu's feet.

11. He made darkness his hiding-place, his pavilion round about him,[1]
Darkness[2] of the waters,[3] thick clouds of the skies.
12. At the brightness[4] before him his thick clouds passed,
Hailstones and coals of *fire*[4]
13. The Lord[5] also thundered in the heavens,
And the Most High uttered his voice:
Hailstones and coals of fire.
14. And he[6] sent out his *arrows* and scattered them;
Yea, *lightnings* manifold, and discomfited them.

That this description must be understood of the מַלְאַךְ יהוה and not of יהוה himself, is evident from the "angel of god" in Genesis chapters 18 and 19, who speaks and acts like יהוה and who (he is called here simply יהוה) rains upon Sodom and Gomorrah *brimstone* and *fire* מֵאֵת יהוה מִן הַשָּׁמָיִם.[7] This "from heaven" is no gloss, as some commentators want it, but indicates that יהוה *himself* is somewhere else, while acting through his prime-minister or מַלְאַךְ, who therefore, as his (Jahveh's) representative, is called יהוה too!

A further corroboration of this may be found in Gudea, Cyl. A IX. 20—X. 5.[8] where the "lugal A-MA-SHUB," the "king of the stormflood," is said to be dingir En-lil or Bel.

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[1] The Im-gig-ghu or "the flying dark clouds" surround Nin-Gir-su.

[2] Comp. the a-ma-shub or "storm-flood," and the IM-GIG of Nin-Girsu.

[3] Comp. the A or "water" which is "above" Nin-Gir-su.

[4] Comp. the BIL, "fire," that is "above" Nin-Gir-su, and the bar-bar in Im-gig-ghu-bar-bar.

[5] יהוה or En-lil through the "ur-sag."

[6] The "ur-sag" or "angel" or "prime-minister" makes use of his gir-lal, i. e., of dingir Nin-sar, bids him to pour out or send out (shapáku) his gir or "lightnings, thunderbolts."

[7] Gen. xix. 24.

[8] Translated by Thureau-Dangin, *Songe de Goudéa*, p 125, as follows:

IX. 20. Moi je suis Nin-Gir-su qui *écarte*....
21. le grand héros auprès de Bel,
22. le seigneur sans rival;
23. mon temple (est) l'E-ninnû où moi....
24. mon arm le SHAR-UR qui sous son pouvoir réduit les contrées
25. mon IGI-GHUSH qui n'épargne rien au monde,
26. mon DA-BAT à qui personne n' échappe
X. 1. .....(This line reads: A-KU-mu nam-gal ki-ag-da)
2. "LE MAITRE DE L'OURAGAN (EST) BEL (!!)"
3. "son œil irrité (i. e., the IGI-GHUSH) n' épargne rien au monde"

The "weapons"[1] used by Nin-Gir-su and which are mentioned in the above-given passage, are no doubt the lightning, thunderbolt, etc., etc. There can be, then, no doubt that יהוה has his exact counterpart in dingir En-lil, and that the latter's ur-sag is the מלאך יהוה of the Old Testament. Thus יהוה is not a "*god of storm*," but "the lord who is accompanied *by* the storm,"—a difference!

But what or who is this dingir En-lil—יהוה? Hommel[2] takes dingir En-lil to be the "Herr der Luft," because LIL = zaqîqu[3] = Sturmwind, wind, and the kur-kur in lugal-kur-kur as signifying "die Berge des Luftreichs, die Wolken." This latter he derives from the signification of dingir Nin-char-sag and the surname of Bel: KUR-GAL, "the great mountain."[4] Against this might be said that a zaqîqu or *wind* is not yet "*air*," and that in later (Assyrian) inscriptions the lugal-kur-kur is always translated, not by shar shadê, but always ilu bêl mâtâti.[5] On accout of this latter translation LIL was taken to signify "the lord of the lands." The main attributes of Enlil were, as we have seen, "the king of heaven and earth," "the king of the lands," "the king of the gods," "the father of the gods." As time went on, these specific attributes of Enlil were applied even to other gods according to the influence they were able to exercise over the inhabitants of early Babylonia. Thus it happens that, e. g., the moon-god Sin had the following arrogant titles:

ilu Sin bêl ilâni sha shame-e u irtsi-tim
shar ilâni ilî (written ilu + pl.) sha ilâni
a-shi-ib shame-e rabûte.[6]

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4. "Nin-Gir-su guerrier de Bel"
5. de ces noms seront nommés.

[1] See also Gudea, Cyl. B VII. and Statue B V. 37; VI. 49 *et passim*.

[2] Identität, etc., p. 219.

[3] Ungar. lel anima, türk. yel, "Wind," Hommel, *ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 220.

[5] See, e. g., Obelisk of Shalmaneser II., l. 3: ilu bêl-mâtâti ilu Bêl, also p. 59, 2!

[6] "Sin, the lord of the gods of heaven and earth,
the king of the gods, the god of gods
that inhabit the great heavens."
Nabû-nâ'id, Thoncylinder aus Ur. A. W. p. 43. col. I. 28 ff. Sin is the bêl ilâni in as far as he is the "head" or ab of the second triad or raḥ. But the titles

Yes, when god Marduk occupied the most supreme place in the Babylonian pantheon, Nabû-nâ'id does not know how to honor him more than by calling him ^{dingir}EN-LIL ilâni ^{ilu}Marduk (AMAR-UD),[1] which is generally transcribed ^{ilu}bêl ilâni ^{ilu}Marduk, and translated "the lord of the gods, Marduk,"—the original, and no doubt intended signification however is: "the EN-LIL of the gods (viz.:) Marduk." By thus terming his supreme god, Nabû-nâ'id wanted to show that Marduk takes the place of EN-LIL of old.

Above we have seen that "heaven and earth" were considered by the old Babylonians to be closely connected, so closely as to require only *one* god; and if there was only *one* god for "heaven and earth," then this latter must have been considered as *one*. This *one* thing, this heaven-earth, AN-KI, has, when thus looked upon as *one* the name LIL. The first triad, when enumerated has mostly the sequence Anu, Bêl, Ea, i. e., Bêl is mentioned between his father and his 'am "father's-brother." That just *this* sequence should have become a stereotyped one must have a meaning. The explanation of this sequence no doubt is the following: AN "the heavenly ocean," and KI "the terrestrial ocean" are separated according to the Bible (Gen. i.) by the so-called רקיע (*raqî'a*) generally translated by "firmament," which latter is there "to keep back the waters of the heavenly ocean." This conception however is only one-sided. For we may very well ask, if the heavenly ocean is kept back by a רקיע, by what is the terrestrial ocean kept back?

And when Job[2] complains:

> "Am I a sea or a sea-monster
> That thou settest a watch over me,"

he did not think so much of a "heavenly sea or sea-monster" that is to be guarded, but of an *earthly* sea or sea-monster. Thus we would necessarily expect that there was also a רקיע for the terres-

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"god of the gods" (with ilî (= pl!) comp. also the *pluralis majestaticus* אלהים) and "king of the gods" are attributes of En-LIL. See p. 19, 9. 10., and Deut. x 17.

[1] Nabû-nâ'id, Thoncylinder aus Sippar, A.-W. p. 40, col. I. l. 21.

[2] Chap. vii. 12.

trial ocean. The רקיע of the heavenly ocean is called "heaven." The "heaven"[1] or "the firmament of heaven"[2] keeps back the waters above. The רקיע השמים itself proves that there must have been also another רקיע besides that of heaven—or else the השמים would, to say the least, be quite unnecessary. Thus, even P. still was under the impression that there existed a רקיע השמים and, of course, as we may conclude a רקיע הארץ. As the one רקיע is the "heaven," so the other רקיע is the "earth." This *one* רקיע that stands *between* the heavenly and terrestrial ocean, and keeps back the waters above the firmament as well as below the firmament is called by the Sumerians: LIL.

Thus we understand the succession: AN-LIL-KI or Anu, Bêl, Ea it stands for: the heavenly waters—the רקיע—the terrestrial ocean, by the רקיע they are divided, by it they also are kept back, the heavenly ocean by the רקיע which is the "*heaven*" and the terrestrial ocean, by the רקיע which is the "*earth.*" Thus it also happened that according to P[3] the heaven had to have "windows" (ארבת השמים) through which the waters of the heavenly ocean could pour down at the time of the flood, and the "terrestrial ocean"—the תהום רבה as he calls it—had likewise to have some exits through which the waters might come, and these exits are the "wells" or מעינות. From this is also evident that not only the heavenly ocean was "kept back" but also the *terrestrial* ocean—the heavenly by the heaven and the terrestrial by the earth: heaven and earth thus form the רקיע or LIL. And EN-LIL standing between the AN and KI, i. e., "the heavenly and terrestrial ocean," becomes thus the רקיע, and the latter again under a twofold aspect: the heaven and earth—hence he is "the king of heaven and earth," or of the רקיע that stands between the AN and KI!

This consideration gives us also an insight into the COSMOLOGY of the Sumerians.

According to the Sumerian conception the earth as a WORLD EDIFICE consisted of THREE PARTS:

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[1] ויקרא אלהים לרקיע שמים, Gen. i. 8.

[2] מארת ברקיע השמים, Gen. i. 14.

[3] Gen. vii. 11.

(1) The heavenly ocean or AN.

(2) The terrestrial ocean or KI.

(3) The רקיע or LIL, which stands between the AN and KI.

These three parts were assigned to *the first triad or raht* of the Sumerian pantheon, i. e., to Anu, Ea, Bel. To these as such belongs the *world edifice*.

As there existed a heavenly and a terrestrial ocean, so the LIL or רקיע was considered also under a double aspect:

(*a*) As a heavenly רקיע or an = shamû, שמים or "heaven."

(*b*) As a terrestrial רקיע or ki = irtsitu, ארץ or "earth."

The former keeps back the heavenly and the latter the terrestrial ocean.

This latter consideration gives us the so-called TWOFOLD division of the earth as WORLD EDIFICE. According to this it consisted:

(1) Of the *upper* world, which is AN-ta = elish, i. e., above: *the heavenly world;*

(2) Of the *lower* world, which is KI-ta = shaplish, i.e., below: *the terrestrial world.*[1]

The heavenly רקיע appears in and is of the form of a "half-circle" or better "plate"—and as the heavenly is only the reflex of the terrestrial, this latter was considered to be the other half of the circle as a whole, i. e., of the רקיע as such. And if the רקיע be a circle then the heavenly and terrestrial ocean must also form a circle.

The world edifice is inhabited. The inhabitants which dwell either *in* or *within* the רקיע are ZU, UD, Innanna, Nin-Girsu. Thus they had to become necessarily his, i. e., LIL's children. LIL thus becomes not only the LUGAL or "king," but also the AB-BA or "father" of the gods. ZU, UD, Innanna are the moon, sun, morning or evening-star. Thus we find that even according to Gen. i. 14 the stars are put ברקיע השמים. Each one of these stars

[1] This twofold division is mentioned by Diodorus II 30, translated in Winckler, "Himmels- und Weltenbild der Babylonier (*Der alte Orient*, III), p. 62, with these words: "Von diesen beobachten die Hälfte (sc. of the 36 gods) die *überirdischen*, die andere Hälfte die *unterirdischen Stätten*, indem sie über das bei den *Menschen* und den *Göttern* geschehende gleichzeitig wachten."

has his abode and special sphere not only in the terrestrial[1] but also in the heavenly רקיע. When they are in the latter they are visible, but when in the former they become invisible. The *road* they had to travel when in the heavenly רקיע was marked out for them by the so-called zodiac, which was called in later times *shupuk shamê*,[2] i. e., "the dam of heaven."

The functions of the stars, especially those of the two great luminaries are according to Gen. i. 14, 15 threefold:

(1) להאיר על־הארץ[3]
(2) להבדיל בין היום ובין הלילה[4]
(3) והיו לאתת[6] ולמועדים ולימים ושנים[5]

No. 2, i. e., "the dividing between the day and the night" is done by the *sun*. He divides what we call "day" into *two equal halves*—but this he does only on *two days* during the whole year, i. e., at the vernal and the autumnal *equinox*. Where the sun rises on these two days is the *East* and where he sets is the *West*. On these two days it takes therefore just as many hours for the sun to travel over the heavenly as over the earthly רקיע, or in other words: the sun is just as many hours visible as he is invisible. East and West becomes thus the two points in the רקיע as a whole where the earthly and the heavenly *touch*, i. e., East and West divide the רקיע and thus also the whole world edifice into *two equal halves*: into the upper or heavenly and into the lower or terrestrial world. The East of the terrestrial world is however at the same time the West of the heavenly and *vice versa*, for when the sun rises for the "earth" he sets for the "heaven."

The "*nether world*" or *Hades* was considered to lie in the South, i. e., under that point of the "earth" or terrestrial רקיע

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[1] The abode of UD, e. g., is Ud-unug-^{ki}, i. e., "Shamash-abode" or Larsa; that of ZU or Uru: Uru-unug-^{ki}-ma, i. e., Nannar (or Sin)-abode = Ur; that of Innanna: Innanna-ab-^{ki} (or also to be read: Innanna-unug-^{ki}) etc., etc.

[2] See Winckler, *l. c.*, p. 62 ff.

[3] To give light upon the earth. Gen. i. 15.

[4] To divide between the day and between the night. Gen. i. 14.

[5] To be for signs. This expresses the *astrologic* signification of the stars.

[6] And for seasons and for days and years. On the course of the stars, especially on that of the sun and moon the *calendar* is based.

where the sun stands at noon during the equinox. Also the upper world has a Hades which likewise was considered to be in the South, i. e., under the same point of the "*heaven*" or heavenly רקיע indicated by the sun at noon during the equinox. We would get thus in the world edifice as a whole two points for East, West, and South! The opposite of the South is the *North*. If we would prolong the two points indicating the South towards the North they would (1) meet in *one and the same* point of the line which connects the East and the West or which divides the world edifice into the upper and lower world, (2) divide the lower as well as the upper world again into two equal halves. *The point* where they meet is the *North*. The North becomes thus not only the centre of the רקיע, which, as we saw, was considered to be a circle, but also that of the whole world edifice. Here in this North, in this centre "*dwelt the gods*," there also the "*mountain of the gods*," "*der Götterberg*" was situated.

Now we understand the *name* for the *North*. In Assyrian it is called ishtânu or iltânu, i. e., "*the only one*"—thus called in contradistinction to all the other points, of each of which we have *two*. There is only *one North* in the world edifice, this North is the same for the heavenly as for the terrestrial world. In Sumerian the North has the name IM-SI-DI, which Delitzsch[1] translates by "*gerade Richtung*," i. e., all the radii of the great periphery of "heaven and earth" are directed towards it as the centre.[2]

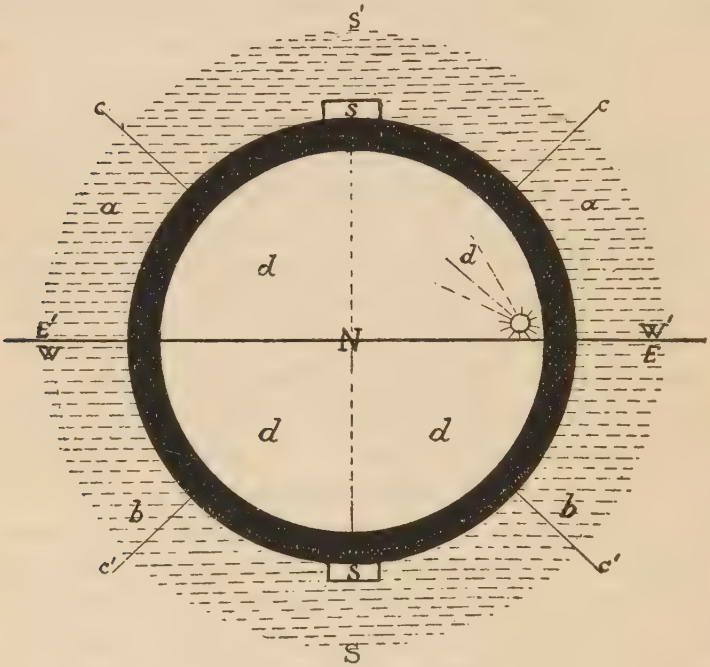
If sun, moon, and the stars are *in* the רקיע, to what god has to be assigned the region around the centre of the world edifice, i. e., the space between "heaven and earth"?

Speaking from our present standpoint the space between "heaven and earth" is filled out by the air—hence we might be inclined to assign that region to the "god of the air" to the "*Herrn der Luft*." But there does not seem to exist—either in Hebrew, or in Assyrian, or in Sumerian—a word for "air," at least no such word is known to me The Hebrew רוח does not mean "air," but

[1] H. W. B. p. 152.

[2] See also the E-pa e-ub-7-na! Ub = kibratu, "*Weltgegend, -richtung*," i. e., "the temple of the seven regions" Gudea, Statue D, ii, 11 (K. B., iii[1], p 50.)

"wind, spirit, breath." The Sumerian LIL is = the Assyrian zaqîqu, i. e., "wind, storm," and IM is = shâru, which again means "wind." This latter word gives us the right solution. So far we were able to assign all gods to a special sphere or function in the world edifice. One god, however, remained to whom no such sphere has been assigned as yet, and this is Nin-Gir-su or Rammân.



(*a*) Heavenly ocean: AN, Anu; (*b*) Terrestrial ocean: KI, Ea; (*c*) Heavenly רקיע: an = שמים, shamû or heaven; (*c'*) Terrestrial רקיע: ki = ארץ, irtsitu or earth; (*c* + *c'*) The domain of LIL or Bel. On this רקיע is to be found the shupuk shamê, i. e., the road which the sun, the moon, etc., had to travel; (*d*) the domain of Nin-Gir-su = Rammân; (*E'*, *W'*, *S'*) the heavenly world; (*E*, *W*, *S*) the terrestrial world; (*E*) East of the earth = (*W'*) West of the heaven; (*E*, *W*) divide the world edifice into two equal halves, and signify the East and West where the sun rises and sets at the equinox; (*N*) North, the centre of the world edifice; (*S*, *S'*) the terrestrial and the heavenly Hades.

He is, as we have seen above, not a star, but the "god of storm, rain, thunder, lightning, and clouds," and must therefore necessarily belong to the region between the heavenly and the terrestrial

רקיע! With this, of course, agrees also Gudea's description of Nin-Gir-su = Rammân, who is said as regards his RI-BA to be like *heaven* and *earth*! Rammân, the thunderer, fills all the space between heaven and earth and thus reaches from the lower to the upper "firmament." To this space must, of course, also be assigned the seven sons of Nin-Gir-su. They too have as the "seven winds" their abode between heaven and earth.

We are thus able to draw the picture[1] of the Sumerian world-edifice given on the preceding page. (See the explanations there given). This picture explains also the following points:

1. God EN-LIL or Bel is called very often the "*lugal-kur-kur*." Kur may mean either "the mountain" (shadû) or "the land" (mâtu). Lugal-kur-kur might thus be translated either by "*king of the mountains*" or "*king of the lands*." Both translations are possible. If the former translation be accepted, "the mountains" would be the *two halves* of the רקיע. The upper רקיע or "*heaven*" as well as the lower רקיע or "*earth*" appear as a mountain when looked upon from the *North* or *center* of the whole world edifice! Lugal-kur-kur, when taken in this sense, would mean literally "*king of the TWO mountains*."

P informs[2] us that Abraham and his wife and Lot came with Terah his father from *Ur of the Chaldees*. This Ur was, as we know now, one of the chief Babylonian cities in early times, it being especially celebrated on account of its temple dedicated to the moon-god, i. e., to EN-ZU or Uru-ki, the first-born of EN-LIL or Bel. It is generally supposed that Terah together with his son Abraham worshipped or were followers of this very moon-god, because they stopped on their way to Canaan in *Harran*, where there was another celebrated temple of the moon-god. This view, no doubt, is true of Terah, for it ought to be remembered that *he* it is who leaves Ur and goes to Harran, simply taking with him his son Abraham. Terah, therefore, and not Abraham, puts himself again under the protection of his old god while in Harran! From another

[1] For another picture see Jensen, *Kosmologie der Babylonier*. Anhang, Tafel III.

[2] Gen. xi. 31.

place, however, we know whom *Abraham* worshipped. In Exodus vi. 2, 3—which also belongs to P—we read:

"And God spake unto Moses, and said unto him, I am Jahveh: and I appeared unto *Abraham*, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob as El Shaddai, but by my name Jahveh I was not known to them."

From this passage we learn that the *same* god appeared unto Abraham as well as unto Moses, but unto the latter under a different *name*. The name had been changed, it is true, at the time of Moses, but the *essence* of that god was and remained the same! Who, then, was this אֵל שַׁדַּי, El Shaddai?

The common translation "lord or god almighty" is simply based upon the LXX. παντοκράτωρ and the Vulg. "omnipotens," and is as such merely a guess. Two explanations seem possible.

1. Shaddai is derived either from the root shadad (שׁדד), "to be dense, to be or to make tight," or

2. It comes from shadah (שׁדה), "to be high," from which we have the Assyrian shadû, "mountain."

If No. 1 be accepted, shadad would be a synonym of raqa' (רקע) from which we get the raqî'a, i. e., something which is or is made dense, tight,—hence our word firmament! The *ai* at the end represents the old dual ending. El shaddai would mean according to this explanation: the god (el) of the two (ai) firmaments or raqî'as. The god of the two firmaments, i. e., of heaven and of earth, is EN-LIL or Bel. Abraham would thus become a worshipper of Bel, the father of the moon-god Sin.

The second etymology, however, seems to be much better and was given already by Delitzsch[1] who, however, translates El shaddai on the basis of the Assyrian ilu shadû'a by "god is my mountain." This translation I do not think can be maintained. The *ai* at the end of Shaddai must be taken again for the old dual ending, which occurs, e. g., in Shalmaneser II.: "the camels sha *shu-na-ai* tsi-ri-shi-na, i. e., whose back is *double*." The double *d* stands for *dj*, i. e., the *j* assimilated itself to the *d*.[2] El Shaddai would

[1] *The Hebrew Language*, p. 48.

[2] For such a *retrogressive* assimilation of the *j* comp. among others bunju =

thus become "the god of the two mountains," i. e., the lugal-kur-kur or EN-LIL, who was the god of the upper and the lower mountain or heaven and earth. El Shaddai then is as much as "god of heaven and earth," or lugal-an-ki. Thus even according to this etymology the El Shaddai of the patriarchs is the EN-LIL of the Sumerians. Above we have seen that even יהוה was = EN-LIL, because both when they appear are accompanied by a prime-minister or angel—יהוה by his מלאך and EN-LIL by his ur-sag ligga ^{dingir} Nin-Gir-su,—i. e., they appear always under thunder and lightning and surrounded by clouds. The statement of P, therefore, that יהוה appeared unto the patriarchs only under *another* NAME,[1] viz., El Shaddai, remaining however the same god as before, is thus shown to be fully justified. El Shaddai is thus proved to be an Assyrian name which translates simply the Sumerian "lugal-kur-kur" or "lugal-an-ki"! Abraham coming from Ur where the Sumerian pantheon was fully developed and known becomes thus a worshipper of Bel or EN-LIL the lugal-kur-kur!

The title lugal-kur-kur however is translated in the later Semitic Babylonian inscriptions always by *bêl mâtâti*,[2] "lord of the lands." If this transcription and translation be correct, then the idea expressed here would be that Bel as the *firmament* embraces all the "lands" on the terrestrial as well as on the heavenly רקיע—for the "lands" are situated IN the רקיע.

2. The dominion of Bel is sometimes spoken of as a *char-sag kalam-ma* or *shad mâtâti* as "the mountain of the lands," and Bel himself is called KUR-GAL[3] or shadû rabû, i. e., "the great moun-

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bunnu = bûnu : zimju = zimmu = zîmu. Such a word as shaddû, given by Del. H. W. B. p. 642 does not exist The writing SHAD-di-e, etc , ought to be transcribed by shadê $^{di-e}$, i. e., shadû *plus two* phonetic complements.

[1] Whether יהוה was a name taken from the Kenites or not, would not affect our argument. I myself would see in יהוה simply another name for "*rock*," i e , יהוה = "he who is, was, and will be," the "rock" that will not pass away nor change. Comp. here the proper name צוּרִישַׁדַּי "my rock is Shaddai," the KUR-GAL (the great rock) and the char-sag kalam-ma (the mountain of the lands) of the Sumerians, and see below.

[2] See e. g. Shalmaneser II. Obelisk, l. 3 : ^{il}bêl KUR-KUR. Or should we transcribe here also "shadai"?

[3] See Jensen, K. B. III^{1}. p. 16, note 3, and E. B. H. p. 65, note 1.

tain." Bel is the god of the רקיע, which רקיע is, as we saw, a *circle* or a *mountain*. In this mountain or circle as a whole the "lands of heaven and earth" are situated. Bel becomes thus not only "the great mountain" or "circle," the רקיע, but also the "mountain of the lands."

3. Later inscriptions speak of a so-called "mountain of the rise of the sun" and of a "mountain of the setting of the sun," which mountains lie in the East and West respectively. The earth being considered as the *lower* half of the great circle called רקיע is, of course, at its extremities, i. e., in the East and West *higher* than on any other part. The earth seems to be always *higher* at the horizon than where we stand.

4. The earth as world edifice in the form of a circle or better globe[1] explains the whole system of the Sumerian reckoning, according to which the circle was divided into 360 degrees, the year into 360 days, etc., etc.

5. It removes all the difficulties which Winckler still finds in his conception of the Babylonian cosmology.[2]

Having traced the genealogy of the gods and inquired into their specific meaning, we are now able to establish the pedigree tabulated on the opposite page.

Of ^{dingir}Nin-ib the pa-te-si-gal ^{dingir}En-lil-lal-ge,[3] Nergal[4] or also known under the name ^{dingir}Shit-lam-ta-ud-du-a,[5] and Nusku the lugh-magh ^{dingir}En-lil-lal[6] we know too little to be able to classify them, if we want to do it according to the Old Babylonian inscriptions. Nabû does not occur at all.[7]

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[1] Consisting of two halves or plates—the upper being put or resting upon the lower.

[2] See Winckler, "Himmels- und Weltenbild der Babylonier," *Der alte Orient*, III. (1901) pp. 59–65.

[3] E. B. H. p. 258_{22}.

[4] Written ^{dingir}GIR-UNUG-GAL, for this reading, and not: Nir-unug-gal, see Thureau-Dangin, Z. A. XV. p. 47, and note 2. For references see E. B. H. p. 226_3.

[5] E. B. H. 133_{30}, 224, 227_1.

[6] E. B. H. p. 223, note 3.

[7] The inscription of Ardi-Na-bi-um belongs to a later (Canaanitish or Aramæan) period, as the name Ia-lu-un-a-sar shows. E. B. H. p. 229.

If we translate this genealogy and compare it with that of Gen. i. we would get the following result:

In the beginning there was a *chaos* which was thought to be a *male* and *female*, perhaps in one person. The Biblical name for this chaos was tohu-vabohu, but as male and female it was called either "waters" and "Tehom," or "Spirit of Elohim" and "darkness."

In the Babylonian account the names apsû and tiâmat are used, while in the original Sumerian the chaos was simply called GUR which at one time or another was differentiated and became "Mr.

[1] Other names for Ba-u to be found in Old Babylonian inscriptions are Da-mu, Dun, Gu-la, Ma-ma, Nin-din-dug (probably to be read, however, Innanna-edin,) Za-ma-ma. See E. B. H. Index.

Gur" and "Mrs. Gur," i. e., EN-GUR or NIN-GUR. From these first parents everything in heaven and upon earth took its origin. EN-GUR and NIN-GUR had two sons: AN and KI, i. e., they begot the "heavenly ocean" and the "terrestrial ocean." In the Babylonian-Semitic account the two sons were called AN-SAR and KI-SAR, who again probably correspond to the Lachmu and Lachamu. Genesis i., on the other hand, calls them "waters that are above the firmament" and "waters that are below the firmament." According to all three accounts, these waters take their origin from Tehom,[1] i. e., the descent is reckoned through the mother.

AN, the "heavenly ocean," has a son called LIL, i. e., the רקיע or firmament. The Sumerians reckoned to this firmament also the "earth," for "heaven and earth," which served as barriers for the heavenly and terrestrial ocean, are the dominion of the "king of heaven and earth", i. e, of EN-LIL.

Here then we should have a marked difference between the Biblical creation story and the Sumerian theogony. The difference, however, is only "a seeming one;" in reality it does not exist.

If we compare the Sumerian theogony as given above on p. 61 with the genealogy of Genesis i. on p. 9 we will find that EN-LIL corresponds to the Biblical "heaven," "earth," and "ocean or waters," of the creation of which we read in verses 6–10. On account of the importance of this difference it would seem necessary to examine verses 6–10 more closely.

Wellhausen[2] thinks that in Gen. i. the creation of the world is recorded as having taken place, not in six, but in *seven days*. This he bases upon the fact that the "formula of approval": וַיַּרְא אֱלֹהִים כִּי־טוֹב[3] is repeated *seven* times, viz., in verses 4, 10, 12, 18, 21, 25, 31. According to him the single works fall upon the following days:

1. The division of the darkness by the creation of the light (v. 3–5).
2. The division of the waters (v. 6–10).
3. The creation of the plants (v. 11–13).
4. The stars (v. 14–19).
5. The fishes and birds (v. 20–23).
6. The animals and beasts (v. 24–25).
7. Man (v. 26–31).

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[1] See above, pp. 35, 9.

[2] *Die Composition des Hexateuchs*, p. 188 ff.

[3] "And God saw that it was good."

We see, then, that Wellhausen finds in verses 6–10 only ONE work: *the division of the waters!*

This scheme of seven days is rejected by Budde[1] for the following reasons:

1. A week of seven working-days without a sabbath is impossible for the time to which P belongs.

2. The verses 6–10 do not speak of the division of the waters only but of the creation of *heaven* on one hand and that of the *earth and the ocean* on the other. And on account of the important rôle which the division of the tiâmat plays in the Babylonian cosmogony, it is more than probable that the creation of *heaven* was considered by P to be one day's work by itself.

Budde's objection sub. No. 1 must be maintained. Although the system of seven days is not original, yet it was introduced by P with the *intention*[2] to describe the creation of the world as having taken place in *six* days, while the creator rested[3] on the seventh day. But when Budde maintains that in verses 6–10 not the division of waters only but *two separate* tasks are recorded, he is mistaken. Verses 6–8 tell us that Elohim *divided* the primeval waters by putting a רָקִיעַ between them. This רָקִיעַ he calls "heaven. Verses 9, 10 literally translated read: "And Elohim said: Let the waters under the heaven gather themselves unto one place so that the dry land is made to appear,[4] and it was so. And Elohim called the dry land earth and the gathering-place of the waters he called ocean. And Elohim saw that it was good."

The waters shall gather themselves together *unto one place!* What place? This expression presupposes that the *earth* was already in *existence* (!), or else the waters could not gather themselves together unto one *place* or "*ki*"! Hence we have to put 9*b* before 9*a* and read: "Let the waters make the dry ground to appear." But if the waters obeyed the command, then it follows *ipso facto* that the waters had to recede, had to gather themselves together unto one place,—one conditions the other, and thus 9*a* becomes superfluous. From this it also follows that the creation of "the ocean" (יַמִּים) is not a task by itself, but merely the *result* of the "appearing of the earth." Hence even in verses 6–10 we read only of the creation of "heaven AND earth," i. e., of the רָקִיעַ as a whole, the LIL. Thus Gen. i. 6–10 agrees exactly with the Sumerian theogony. Wellhausen therefore is correct in connecting verses 6–10 and seeing in them "the division of the waters" only—which division was made possible by the creation of the רָקִיעַ—i. e., by EN-LIL'S or Bel's taking his place between Anu and Ea.

The division of the primeval waters or Tiâmat was the first act of Marduk; the division of the waters is also the *first act of Elohim*, for we have seen above

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[1] *Urgeschichte*, pp. 489–491.

[2] See above pp. 3 ff., and below p. 64.

[3] That P did not succeed in making this very clear, we saw above, p. 4.

[4] Read וְתֵרָאֶה.

that the creation of the "light" was simply introduced in order to help P in fabricating his days.

Marduk-Elohim then accomplished the following tasks: (1) the division of the waters, or the creation of the רקיע or "heaven and earth"; (2) the creation of the plants; (3) of the stars; (4) of the fishes and birds; (5) of animals and beasts; (6) of man. On the seventh day Elohim rested.

But there is still another difference and difficulty. According to the Sumerian theogony, EN-LIL, the רקיע or "heaven and earth," is the son of Anu, i. e., "the *heavenly* ocean," while according to the Biblical text, as it stands now, the earth or dry ground is born by the *terrestrial* ocean, or "the waters under the heavens," i. e., by EN-KI.

P, no doubt, wanted to elucidate here more fully the Sumerian theogony. He knew that LIL was "the heaven and EARTH" or רקיע as a whole—thus born by Anu—but he also knew that the verdure (Tammuz), grain (Nidaba), etc., were not born by EN-LIL—as we should expect—but by KI, the terrestrial ocean. He knew further that the Sumerian "ki" means "earth." Thus in order to get over the difficulty in the Sumerian theogony where EN-LIL is the god of "heaven and EARTH," and yet where "the produce of the earth" is not born by EN-LIL but by EN-KI, the god of the terrestrial ocean, P divided the רקיע as a whole into two halves,—made the upper רקיע be born by the heavenly and the lower by the terrestrial ocean. See also what has been said on p. 37.

It may not be impossible, however, that LIL was thought to be a son of both:[1] of AN and KI,—for both oceans were thought to be joined together beyond the firmament or רקיע,—this being simply the natural observation that the heaven rests upon the earth, and *mutatis mutandis*: the heavenly ocean upon the terrestrial.[2]

The god LIL, by virtue of his being the רקיע or "heaven" and "earth," became the "*father*" and the "king of the gods of heaven and earth,"—not only of the gods, however, but also of all other

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[1] This probably explains why Marduk, who was, as we have seen, identified with EN-LIL or Bel, is called the aplu rêshtû sha Ea, II. R. 64d, comp. with 17c. d. and in Damascius: τοῦ δὲ Ἄου (i. e., Ea) και Δαύκης (i. e., Damkina) υἱὸς ὁ Βῆλος (i. e., according to later times the Bel κατ' ἐξοχήν: Marduk). See also Carus, *The Monist*, April, 1901, p. 406. That one son should have two fathers is not strange, it merely would presuppose polyandry with descent reckoned through the father. For a classical example see here the Minean inscription Hal. 504 = Hommel, *Südarabische Chrestomathie*, p. 94. Comp. also above, pp. 33,3 and 21!

[2] Remarkable also is that Ba-u together with LIL, her husband, are said to be "the firstborn" of AN,—surely an evident trace that the differentiation of the sexes was comparatively late. If LIL was the firstborn, then also his wife *had* to be the firstborn: both are thus husband and wife, and brother and sister.

creatures, as may be still seen from one of the attributes of his wife: Sal (Nin)-in-si-na who is called: "the mother of the world, the one who created the creatures of the world."[1] And as the attributes of the wife belong also to the husband, hence god LIL was, according to Sumerian conception, the creator or father of the *gods* and of the *creatures* of the world. The *gods* who are begotten by LIL are ZU or Sin, the moon-god, Rammân or Nin-Gir-su, "the thunderer" or simply "cloud," who again is the 'am of UD or Shamash, the sun-god, and Innanna or Ishtar, the morning or evening star. By Ba-u the wife of Rammân again are born the seven winds. Also according to Gen. i. "the two great lights and the stars" belong to the רקיע.[2] We now understand why P is so awfully afraid of naming these two great lights by name. He knew that they were the *sun* and the *moon*. He did not *want* to mention their names,—for if he did then he would have had to use for "sun" the Hebrew שמש (Shemesh), which apparently was too closely related to the Semitic-Babylonian *Shamash* and might have betrayed a heathenish origin of his (P's) whole cosmogony. The same may be said of Ishtar or עשתר! Shamash was at the time of P one of the *principal gods*,—and whatever smelled of heathenism was blotted out by P!

A strange difference however is to be found here between the Biblical account of the creation and the Sumerian theogony. According to the latter Sin or EN-ZU, the moon-god, is the *firstborn* of EN-LIL, and hence *precedes* Shamash or UD the sun-god. In Gen. i. 16 on the other hand Shamash is called "the *greater* light,"[3] while Sin is named "the lesser light,"[4] thus the former apparently precedes the latter.

What is the reason for this?

Winckler[5] confesses: "Das babylonische Pantheon stellt nicht den Sonnengott, sondern den Mondgott an the Spitze—*warum, ist noch unklar*." The reason is this: As the chaos preceded the cosmos, as the darkness the light, thus the *night* preceded the day, and Sin[6] being "he who governs the night," must necessarily

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[1] E. B. H. p. 202, note I. 1. [2] ברקיע השמים Gen. i. 14.

[3] המאור הגדול. [4] המאור הקטן. [5] "Himmels- und Weltenbild," etc., p. 65.

[6] Sin precedes Shamash also in the old Arabian pantheon. Our investigation enables us to identify that pantheon with the second triad or raht of the Sumerians. Wadd, Sîn, 'Amm, Haubas—all names for the Sumerian EN ZU or Uru-ki, the moon-god, have been correctly identified. The same is true of Athtar and

precede Shamash, who governs the day. This is also the reason why in early times the "day" consisted of "*night* and day"—accepted even by P: "there was evening and there was morning, the . . . day." This latter, no doubt, is a relic of the Sumerian conception of the day—for among the Sumerians Sin was the *father*

Shams—the former is the dingir Innanna, the morning or evening-star, the latter dingir UD, the sun—with the difference, however, that Athtar has become a masculine and Shams a feminine. Even in later Semitic *Babylonian* inscription Ishtar as "the morning-star" was, as was pointed out above, p. 39, considered to be a masculine deity. If the old Arabian pantheon represents the gods of the second triad or raḥṭ of the Sumerians, then an-Karich, Chaul, Anbâj, and Almâqu-hû must be Nin-Gir-su or Rammân. Hommel, *Die südarabischen Altertümer des Wiener Hofmuseums*, p. 28 ff., identified them either with *Nebo*, because (1) "Anbâj" is a broken plural of Nabiju, which stands for the older Nabi'u; (2) Chaul = חוֹל "Phœnix" ("der ja vom Weihrauchlande, Hadhramôt, her nach Aegypten fliegt, also ein richtiger מַלְאָךְ oder Götterbote ist"), or with the "Sternenheer" = Almâqu-hû. With regard to an-Karich he is in doubt, thinks however, that this god is "wohl auch" = Nebo.

Above we have seen that Nin-Gir-su is the ur-sag of EN-LIL,—hence a מַלְאָךְ or *minister*, just as Chaul = חוֹל is. Chaul is here the *minister* of Sin, because Sin is the chief-god, who was even in Assyrian times identified with Bêl (see above p. 50) hence might also have an ur-sag! But it is not necessary at all to identify Chaul with the bird Phœnix (see Job xxix. 18 and Herodotus ii. 73); the signification which the root חוּל gives on hand, is a much better one. חוּל or also חִיל is used in Jerem. xxiii. 19; xxx. 23 of the *storm* and has the signification: *wirbelnd losbrechen hernieder auf etwas* (c. עַל). See Gesenius-Buhl *sub voce*. Even in Assyrian we have a root חיל with the signification "*beben, erbeben*," and a chîlu or *Hochflut*, see Del. H. W. B. pp. 274, 275. The god Chaul would become thus the "god of the *stormflood!*" and might be read Châwil.

Almâqu-hû—thus read by Hommel—is derived from the root לָמַק "to destroy," "to beat." Rammân as the god of *lightning* destroys the wicked. I would like to see in this word a surname of Rammân and read "*almaqu-hû*," i. e., "his (sc. Sin's) chief destroyer or warrier = ur-sag lig-ga. To this explanation fits also an-Karich from the root כָּרַה, Del. H. W. B. p. 352, b: "in Not bringen."

Anbâj too is not a broken plural of Nabiju = Nabi'u—why should there be a *plural* for the name of a god, seeing that this god is only a shajûm?—but also an *elative form* (like almaqu-hû!) from the root נָבַה and has to be read = *anbaju*. נָבַה I would like to take in the sense of נָבָא, Del. H. W. B. p. 442, b. "*hervorsprudeln, hervorquellen*," from which we get the namba'u, "*Quell, Wasserquell*," and the imbû'u, "vegetation," and especially nib'u "*Spross, Fruchtertrag u. dergl.*" Rammân would thus become as the "god of rain" he who PRODUCES *vegetation*—hence he is called by Shalmanesser II., Obelisk, l. 7: [ilu Ramm]ân gish-ru shú-tn-ru bêl che-gal-li, i. e., the strong one, the powerful, the lord of the *abundance* or *riches* (sc. of the fields). With this agrees quite wonderfully also the name *ur-dingir Nin-Gir-su*, which name is not only that of an early Babylonian *patesi* (see E. B. H. p. 441 for references), but which also is translated in the bilingual texts by *ikkaru* or *farmer, husbandman, Landmann, Ackerbauer, Landwirt*, see Del. H. W. B. p. 58 *sub voce*. *Ur-dingir Nin-Gir-su* literally translated would mean the "dog or servant of Nin-Gir-su." But Nin-Gir-su is = Rammân

of Shamash. The precedence of Shamash represents thus a later stage: it shows P lived at a time when Shamash had been put before Sin. But if the day began with the evening or night, then the *year* must have begun with the *winter*, and the *beginning* of the year could not have been the 21st of March (the 1st Nisan), but must have been the 21st of September (the 1st Tishri). This month Tishri, which signifies "beginning," corresponds, as was shown in E. B. H. p. 295, to the month Ezen ^{dingir}Ba-u, which was still at the time of Gudea (about 3300 B C.) the *first month of the year*.[1] According to another nomenclature Tishri corresponds to the month A-ki-it, which means "New-Year's festival." Tishri is also = the Canaanitish אתנים which again was the first month,[2] and Tishri is still the New-Year's month of the Jews of to-day The present Jewish New-Year's month thus goes back to the most ancient times: to the time of the Sumerians.

The creation of Nin Gir-su = Rammân, the god of thunder, lightnings, rain, storm, and clouds has been omitted by P! The reason is apparent. He did not fit into P's formula. It was impossible to say: And Elohim said: "Let there be thunderings, lightnings, storms, etc. . . . and there were. And Elohim saw that *they were good!*" "*Good*" lightnings, storms, etc. cause quite a "good" deal of havoc. Thus not wishing to imply that the Creator might have destroyed something of what he created—P left out the creation of the storm and lightning altogether.

The terrestrial ocean according to the Sumerian cosmogony begets the fishes, the verdure, grain, etc.

It ought to be noticed here that Ninâ or the fish-goddess is called the *sister* of Nin-Gir-su, hence stands with him on the same level According to the genealogy given above, we would expect, however, that she would have been called the sister of LIL. This, no doubt, is due to the fact that LIL is the son, or was considered to be the son, of both AN and KI, thus standing between the latter two on one side and ZU, Rammân, and Ninâ on the other side. See above, p. 64.

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who as the god of rain is also the god of *fertility*! And what is more natural than than that the farmer should be called "the servant or dog of the god of fertility"? This latter name not only proves that our identification of Nin-Gir-su = Rammân is correct, but also that anbaju may—nay, must,—have this signification here.

With this then is proven the *Babylonian* origin of the old Arabic pantheon, which was accepted at a time when Sin had become identified with Bel (above p. 50). That the Babylonians indeed influenced the ancient Arabians is proved by the fact that even Semitic Babylonian *words* are found in old Arabic inscription, as e. g. לבת = libittu, לבן = labânu (this latter is found in one of the oldest hadhramotic inscriptions from Obne), משחקן = mushkênu, צנק = sunqu, see Winckler, M. V. A. G., 1901, 4, p. 70.

[1] Gudea, Statue E. V. 1, 2; G. III. 5, 6: ud zag-mu ezen ^{dingir}Ba-u "on the New Year's day, the festival of Ba-u."

[2] 1 Kings viii. 2. E. B. H. p. 298.

Also according to P the verdure, fishes, etc., etc., derive their origin from "the waters which are below the firmament," i. e. from KI!

In the Sumerian theogony there are *no "angels"*, hence they are also not to be found in the account of P.

Considering these striking similarities between the Biblical account of the creation story according to P and that of the Sumerians,—there can be no doubt, that the former is derived from the latter.

We would have to distinguish, then, in Genesis i. three different sources:

1. The *P source.* To this belongs the *system of seven days*, the *formula* given above and the different changes that were necessary in order to make the whole agree with the notions of P. The P source again was based upon

2. The *Semitic-Babylonian Creation Story.* This latter was used only in so far as it agreed with the conceptions—theological and otherwise—of P. All that was against P's conception was eliminated from it. While thus "*criticising*" the Semitic-Babylonian creation story, P quite unconsciously retained so much of it that he reproduced or came very near to the original

3. *Sumerian Source*, which source represented the creation not as the result of a *fight*, but as a natural process of *generation* and *perpetuation.*

Traces of No. 2 are: the conception of the original chaos as Tehom or darkness unto whom is opposed "the spirit of Elohim"; the *dividing* of the Tehom into the waters above and below the firmament, and last but not least, the אור or light,—the attribute of Marduk. To No. 3 belongs the *toledoth* or genealogy of heaven and earth, for the writer expressly says himself that what he has given in chapter one is a תולדות השמים והארץ, a generation and perpetuation of heaven and earth. In this sense תולדות *toledoth* has to be understood, and thus we get a further corroboration of our statement that Gen. i. is not a "*creatio ex nihilo*," but a generation and perpetuation, a development out of the primeval chaos,—*an evolution.*

Thus the Biblical creation-story of P. is proved to be the redaction of a *Sumerian Theogony and Cosmogony*.

But where is Marduk? We have seen already above, that Marduk is not known in Babylonia *before* the time of the first dynasty of Babylon or about 2400 B. C. He then was imported by that dynasty which was of Canaanitish origin. Marduk therefore was probably a Canaanitish god. He was a *god of light*. The Canaanites seeing that there were in the Sumerian pantheon several gods of light as Sin, Shamash, Rammân, Ishtar, etc., made Marduk to be an "*attendant*," an AMAR of Shamash or UD—calling him AMAR-UD! This name expressed on one hand as nearly as possible the "*nature*" of the god, as well as on the other hand the sound of their own "*Marduk*." When the Canaanites had in course of time subdued Babylonia and had made Babylon their capital with Marduk as the patron, Marduk became the *head* of all gods, "the king and father of the gods of heaven and earth," yes, he was called even *dingir EN-LIL*,[1] thus he not only became identified with god LIL, but all attributes belonging to EN-LIL originally, were now ascribed to Marduk. EN-LIL was, as we have seen, also the "father of all creatures and their creator"—hence Marduk became the creator too, and he being at the same time the god of light, it happened that the Creation was conceived of in later times to be a *fight between* Marduk the Creator and the darkness or Tehom. Marduk, the god of light, and his fight with Tehom or Tiâmat becomes thus a specific Babylonian-Semitic-Canaanitish production, hence also one of late origin.

P. by thus criticising and eliminating the mythical element of this fight of Marduk and Tehom, becomes thus the *first higher critic*. If he did not succeed in presenting to us the original pure Sumerian Theogony and Cosmogony, this was due to the fact that he *criticised* with a *purpose*—criticised the *Babylonian* Semitic account to adopt it to his own *theory* of the Creation in *seven* days in order to establish for his *Sabbath*—and thus for all his laws and ordinances connected with the Sabbath—the greatest possible age.

[1] See above, p. 51.

But let us be *thankful* to this first of all *higher critics:* he has made it possible for us to follow up his account and trace it to its original source. Thus we have another striking example of P.'s late age. He lived in Babylonia, was therefore able to acquaint himself with Babylonian ideas and gave us an account of the Creation which together with his "10 antediluvian fathers" may be traced to the very oldest sources at our disposal: to the Sumerian Cosmogony and Theogony.

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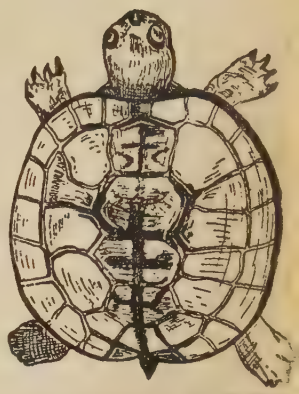

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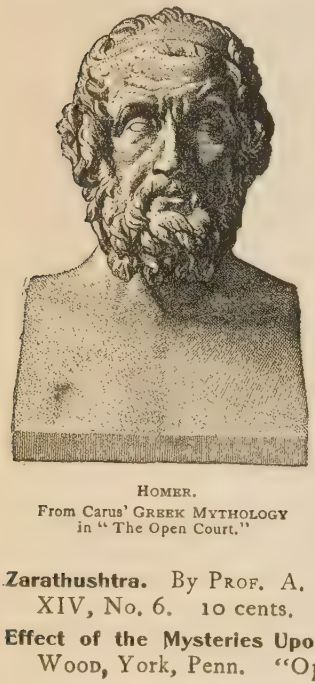

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